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# S I G L A

AASS	Acta Sanctorum (Antverpiae et alibi 1643 ss.)
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ACO	Eduardus Schwartz, <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> (Berolini 1914 ss.)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AOC	Archives de l'Orient Chrétien
BBGG	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
BHG	François Halkin, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> (Bruxelles 1957 <sup>3</sup> )
BHO	Paul Peeters, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i> (Bruxelles 1910)
BiO	Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden 1943/44 ss.)
BO	Josephus Simonius Assemanus, <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana</i> (Romae 1719, 1721, 1725, 1728) (rep. Hildesheim 1975)
Brightman	Frank Edward Brightman, <i>Liturgies Eastern and Western, I: Eastern Liturgies</i> (Oxford 1896)
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte
BV	Bogoslovskij Vestnik
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCEO	Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium (Città del Vaticano 1990) (fontium annotatione auctus, 1995)
CCG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca (Turnhout 1971 ss.)
CCL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout 1953 ss.)
CerVed	Cerkovnye Vedomosti
ChrCt	Christianskoe Čtenie
CICO	Codex Iuris Canonici Orientalis (Città del Vaticano 1957–1958)
COD	Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta (Bologna 1973 <sup>3</sup> )
ConcFI	Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et Scriptores voll. I–XI (Roma 1940–1976)
CPG	Mauritius Geerard, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> (Turnhout 1974 ss)
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain 1903 ss.)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Wien 1866 ss.)
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn 1828–1897)
ČtOIDR	Čtenija v Imperatorskom Obščestve Istorii Drevnostej Rossii
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
DDC	Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique
Denzinger, ROC	Henricus Denzinger, <i>Ritus Orientalium</i> . . . I, II (Wirceburgi 1863–1864)
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques (Paris 1912 ss.)
Dmitrievskij	Aleksej A. Dmitrievskij, <i>Opisanie Liturgiĭeskich rukopisej chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka, I-II</i> (Kiev 1895, 1901) III (Petrograd 1917)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DSp	Dictionnaire de Spiritualité
DTC	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique
Dz	Henricus Denzinger et Adolphus Schönmetzer, <i>Enchiridion ... symbolorum</i> (Freiburg im Br. 1965 <sup>33</sup> )
EO	Échos d'Orient
FCCO	Codificazione Canonica Orientale. Fonti (Roma 1930 ss.)
Funk I-II	Franciscus Xaverius Funk, <i>Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum I-II</i> (Paderborn 1905)
GAL	Carl Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i> (Weimar 1898) II (Leiden 1912)
GAL2	<i>Idem</i> I-II (Leiden, 1943–1949)
GALS	<i>Idem</i> , Supplementbände I–III (Leiden 1937, 1938, 1942)
GAS	Fuat Sezgin, <i>Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums</i> (Leiden 1968 ss.)
GCAL	Georg Graf, <i>Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur</i> , coll. ST 118, 133, 146, 172 (Città del Vaticano 1944, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller (Berlin 1897 ss.)
Goar	Jacobus Goar, <i>Euchologion sive Rituale graecorum</i> (Venezia 1730 <sup>2</sup> repr. Graz 1960)
GSL	Anton Baumstark, <i>Geschichte der syrischen Literatur</i> (Bonn 1922)
HOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden–Köln 1952 ss.)
Irén	Irénikon
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (Wien 1969 ss.)
JSSst	Journal of Semitic Studies

JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
LOC	Eusèbe Renaudot, <i>Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio</i> , 2 vol. (Francforti 1847 <sup>2</sup> )
LQF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen, deinde Liturgiewissenschaftliche Q. u. F. (1957 ss.)
LTK <sup>1-2-3</sup>	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (1930, 1957, 1993)
Mansi	Johannes Dominicus Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> (Firenze 1759 ss.)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno 500 usque ad annum 1500 (Hannover 1826 ss.)
Metzger I-III	Marcel Metzger, <i>Les Constitutions Apostoliques</i> , SC 320, 329, 336 (Paris 1985, 1986, 1987)
Mus	Le Muséon
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beyrouth)
OC	Oriens Christianus
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCh	Orientalia Christiana
OCp	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OKS	Ostkirchliche Studien
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
OS	L'Orient Syrien
PalSb	Palestinskij Sbornik
Pauly-Wissowa	Paulys Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
Pedalion	Πηδάλιον ἦτοι πάντες οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ θεῖοι κανόνες (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1908 <sup>5</sup> )
PG	Jacobus Paulus Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (Paris 1857-1866)
PL	Jacobus Paulus Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i> (Paris 1841-1864)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis (Paris 1903 ss.)
POC	Proche-Orient Chrétien
PS	Patrologia Syriaca, I-III (Paris 1897, 1907, 1927)
PSRL	Polnoe Sobranie Russkich Letopisej
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
REArm	Revue de Études Arméniennes
RByz	Reallexikon der Byzantinistik
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RechBeyr	Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut des Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth
Régestes	Venance Grumel, <i>Régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople</i> (Paris 1932-47)
Renaudot, HP	Eusèbe Renaudot, <i>Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum</i> (Paris 1713)
Rhallis-Potlis	G. A. Rhallis et M. Potlis, Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων (ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1852-1859)
RHC	Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (Paris 1864-1906)
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SC	Sources Chrétiennes (Paris 1941 ss.)
s.d.	senza data
s.i.p.	senza indicazione prezzo
ST	Studi e Testi (Città del Vaticano 1900 ss.)
SVNC	Angelo Mai, <i>Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio</i> 10 voll. (Romae 1825-1838)
SynOr	Jean-Baptiste Chabot, <i>Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil des synodes nestoriens</i> (Paris 1902)
TKDA	Trudy Kievskoy Dухovnoy Akademii
TODRL	Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoj Literatury
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZMNP	Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvješćenija
ZNTS	Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Ševčenka

## Preliminary Observations about the Relationship between the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. James\*

Before addressing several central issues concerning the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. James under examination in the study, it may be useful to begin by pointing out the significance of these Liturgies,<sup>1</sup> and to spell out the aims of this investigation and the methodology used to achieve them.

Both Liturgies consist of larger, apparently independent building blocks that more often than not competed later with each other as, for example, the Epiclesis and the Institution Narrative; or the concept of the “Heavenly Liturgy of the Angels” based on the inclusion of the vision of the Old Testament prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, with the Qedusha as its highpoint, *imitated by the faithful*, which had to compete with the increasing significance of the *role of the priest*, intimately intertwined with the concept of offering. This latter development led to a major reworking not only of the Initial Dialogue but of other parts of the Anaphora too, as is the case in at least two major Eucharistic Prayers, the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari (**syr Ap-An**) and the various redactions of the Anaphora of Basil (**Bas**). In addition, we have to address the intrusion of the concern for “orthodoxy,” which again led to major changes in the outline and content of the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. James.

The present study is a continuation of the philological discussion in my 2005 publication on the Anaphora of Basil in its various redactions, which included central issues of the East-Syrian Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari and the precommunion rites of the Liturgy of James;<sup>2</sup> and of subsequent studies from 2005 to 2009 on the Liturgy of Basil and other Eastern traditions.<sup>3</sup>

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\* Abbreviations for the Anaphoras and the List of Several Works Cited in Abbreviated Form is found at the end of the article.

<sup>1</sup> A short summary of this research was presented as the *Aidan Kavanagh Lecture* at the Yale Institute of Sacred Music on Oct. 13, 2009. This talk was dedicated to my esteemed colleague Bryan D. Spinks.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Winkler, *Die Basilius-Anaphora. Edition der beiden armenischen Redaktionen und der relevanten Fragmente, Übersetzung und Zusammenschau aller Versionen im Licht der orientalischen Überlieferungen* (Anaphorae Orientales 2. Anaphorae Armeniacae 2, Rome 2005): v-viii (Foreword); ix-xxiv (Table of content); xxv-lx (Bibliography); 1-37 (Status

As is well known, the Anaphora of Basil comprises undoubtedly one of the most important Eucharistic Prayers in Christendom. A clear indication of this is its central position in the Antiochene and Alexandrian liturgical traditions. The Anaphora of Basil held center-stage for many centuries not only in the Byzantine and Armenian Rites on the fringes of the Empire, but also in the Alexandrian tradition. Only at the turn of the tenth to eleventh century did the Anaphora of Chrysostom supplant in significance the Anaphora of Basil in the Byzantine tradition,<sup>4</sup> taking over first place from the Anaphora of Basil as the principal liturgy.<sup>5</sup> Likewise the fact that the Anaphora of Basil has come down to us in virtually all languages of the Christian East shows its central place in the Eucharistic

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quaestionis), 38-52 (Methodology), 53-132 (Overview of the extant Armenian manuscripts and fragments); 135-197 (Edition and translation of the first Armenian redaction of the Anaphora of Basil); 199-275 (Edition and translation of the second Armenian redaction); 277-861 (Commentary based on a comparative study of the various redactions of this Anaphora); 862-882 (Summaries); 885-901 (Indices).

Moreover for the precommunion-cycle of the Liturgies of St. Basil and James cf. G. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak. Edition des Cod. arm. 17 von Lyon, Übersetzung und Vergleich mit der armenischen Basilius-Anaphora* (*Anaphorae Orientales* 3, *Anaphorae Armeniacae* 3, in preparation for publication in 2010). See in addition: "The Precommunion Rites and the Problem of the Sancta Sanctis in the Various Redactions of the Liturgy of Basil and Other Traditions," (OCA at press); *eadem*, "Overview of the Research Project: The Armenian Liturgy of Sahak (Edition – Translation – Commentary) and its Dependence on the Armenian Version of the Liturgy of Basil," (OCA at press).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Winkler, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 243-273; *eadem*, "Эпиклеза и рассказ об установлении Евхаристии в анафоре Святого Василия Великого: некоторые филологические наблюдения относительно их эволюции и богословского значения," *Православное учение о церковных таинствах: Материалы V Международной богословской конференции Русской Православной Церкви (Москва 13-16 ноября 2007 г.)* = "The Epiclesis and Institution Narrative of the Anaphora of Basil: Their Evolution and Theological Meaning," in: *The Acts of the 5th International Theological Conference of the Russian Orthodox Church I* (Moscow 2009, at press); *eadem*, "L'anamnèse dans les diverses versions de l'anaphore de St. Basile: leur liens avec le symbole d'Antioche et leur signification théologique," in: *Conférences liturgiques Saint Serge* 2009 (at press); *eadem*, "Unsolved Problems"; *eadem*, "Antiochene Synods," 275-298; *eadem*, "Armenia's Liturgy," 363-387; *eadem*, "Formation of the Armenian Anaphoras," 97-130; *eadem*, "Theological Implications"; *eadem*, "Christology of the Anaphora of Basil," 112-126.

<sup>4</sup> For a new assessment of the date see now the forthcoming important contribution of M. Zheltov, "Peculiarities of the Divine Liturgy Rite in Pre-Philothean Slavonic Euchologia ('sluzhebniki')," in: *Second SOL-Conference held in Rome, Sept. 17-21, 2008* (at press).

<sup>5</sup> For the hitherto held position with regard to the date of the shift in the Byzantine tradition, cf. R. F. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (OCA 200, Rome 1994), xxxii; for the Armenian tradition cf. H.-J. Feulner, *Die armenische Athanasius-Anaphora. Kritische Edition, Übersetzung und liturgievergleichender Kommentar* (*Anaphorae Orientales* I, *Anaphorae Armeniacae* 1, Rome 2001), 79; Winkler, "Formation of the Armenian Anaphoras," 121-122 with n. 136.



tradition. Something similar can be said about the Anaphora of James, which has been transmitted in several languages of the Christian East.

In contrast to the various redactions of the Anaphora of James, the high antiquity of several parts of the Anaphora of Basil is particularly noteworthy. Moreover, its intriguing Christological formulae seemingly reflect the Christological position not so much of St. Basil, the great Cappadocian saint, but of the Antiochene Synod of 341, summoned in the aftermath of and opposition to the Nicene Council in 325, as I have shown in detail in my studies of the Anaphora of Basil.<sup>6</sup> This Antiochene Christology is present throughout the entire Anaphora in *both* the longer Armenian, Syriac, and Byzantine versions, *as well as* the *short* Egyptian redactions.<sup>7</sup> Thus this Eucharistic Prayer is *Antiochene* not only in its liturgical shape but, surprisingly enough, in its Christology as well.<sup>8</sup> The attribution of this Eucharistic Prayer to the great Cappadocian Father apparently has something to do with the Christological disputes and the struggle for orthodoxy in the attempt to overcome Arianism. With the Liturgy of James, the Liturgy of Jerusalem, the matter seems much more complicated: this liturgy apparently mirrors other and sometimes later Christological positions. These Christological formulae, deriving from Credal statements, have not been analysed at all,<sup>9</sup> and thus still await detailed scrutiny.

The attribution of these Anaphoras to central figures of Christianity that stand for "orthodoxy" as, for example, the attribution of this Anaphora to St. Basil; or in the Armenian manuscript tradition its attribution to St. Gregory, "the Illuminator" of the Armenians; or the claim that Liturgies go right back to Apostolic times, as is the case with the Anaphora of "James, the brother of the Lord"; have more to do with the clamour for authority in the context of a divided Christianity than with historical fact.

Since the outstanding 1931 dissertation of H. Engberding,<sup>10</sup> we know that the witnesses to the Anaphora of Basil fall into two large groups, the

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 24-25, 866-868; *eadem*, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 247-260; *eadem*, "Christology of the Anaphora of Basil," 112-126; *eadem*, "Theological Implications"; *eadem*, "Antiochene Synods," 275-298.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 24-25, 866-868; *eadem*, "Christology of the Anaphora of Basil," 112-126; *eadem*, "Theological Implications"; *eadem*, "Antiochene Synods," 275-298.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 866-870.

<sup>9</sup> See my remarks below.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. H. Engberding, *Das Eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie. Textgeschichtliche Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe* (Theologie des Christlichen Ostens. Texte und Untersuchungen, Münster 1931). For an assessment of Engberding's major contribution cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 9-21.

*short* Egyptian versions in Greek, Coptic, and Ethiopic,<sup>11</sup> and the *long* redactions in Armenian,<sup>12</sup> Syriac,<sup>13</sup> and Byzantine Greek.<sup>14</sup>

In contrast to A. Baumstark, who considered the *longer* redactions as the older version of the Anaphora of Basil,<sup>15</sup> H. Engberding demonstrated in his pioneering study that the *short* Egyptian version has to be given priority over the longer redaction.<sup>16</sup> Engberding's conclusion, restricted to the study of the Oratio *ante* and *post* Sanctus alone, was recently challenged by the close scrutiny of the entire anaphora: the Egyptian versions (in Greek, Coptic, and Ethiopic) frequently show signs of later reworking, and sometimes the Armenian redactions or the Byzantine Greek version betray older layers.<sup>17</sup>

Due to the most recent new editions and detailed investigations of the Egyptian version of the Anaphora of Basil<sup>18</sup> and the most important other redactions of this Liturgy<sup>19</sup> we are much better informed about the evolution of the Liturgy of Basil, the Christology of this Anaphora, in-

<sup>11</sup> For an investigation of the Greek and Coptic texts cf. A. Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora. Text – Kommentar – Geschichte* (Jerusalem Theologisches Forum 7, Münster 2004). For an edition and translation of the Ethiopic version cf. S. Euringer, "Die äthiopische Anaphora des hl. Basilios nach vier Handschriften herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen," OCh 36 [Nr. 98] (1934), 135-223.

<sup>12</sup> For the edition, translation, and commentary of the extant Armenian witnesses cf. Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*.

<sup>13</sup> For a preliminary study of the Syriac version cf. Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*.

<sup>14</sup> For the edition of the oldest manuscript, Cod. *Barberini* gr. 336, cf. S. Parenti – E. Velkovska, *L'Eucologio Barberini* gr. 336 (BELS 80, Rome 2000); for a study, cf. Winkler, *Die Basilios-Anaphora*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. A. Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland* (Sammlung Kösel 8, Kempten / München 1906), 72: "... die ägyptische «Liturgie des hl. Basileios» [ist], wie schon ihr Titel erwarten läßt, nichts anderes als eine kürzende und dem ägyptischen Brauche anbequemte Bearbeitung des byzantinischen Basileiosformulars" (my emphasis). A. Baumstark implies here the priority of the longer text over against the shorter Egyptian version. Of course, today no one any longer assumes that the *Byzantine* version served as a model for the shortening of the text.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Engberding, lxxvi.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*; *eadem*, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 243-273.

<sup>18</sup> For the Greek and Coptic texts cf. Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora*, 39-139 (Text), 140-203 (Edition), 205-544 (Commentary), 545-612 (Historical Considerations); see moreover for the Sahidic version: J. Doresse – E. Lanne, "Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile. En annexe: les liturgies «basiliennes et saint Basile» par B. Capelle," *Bibliothèque du Muséon* 47 (Louvain 1960), 10-75; cf. in addition W. F. Macomber, "The Kacmarcik Codex. A 14th Century Greek-Arabic Manuscript of the Coptic Mass," *Mus* 88 (1975), 391-395; *idem*, "The Greek Text of the Coptic Mass and of the Anaphoras of Basil and Gregory according to the Kacmarcik Codex," OCP 43 (1977), 308-334; for the Ethiopic version cf. n. 11 above.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora* (for a brief outline of the study see above n. 2).

cluding the interrelationship of the various versions, than about the Anaphora attributed to St. James. Despite the informative publications regarding in particular the Syrian tradition of the Liturgy of James, this Eucharistic Prayer still poses major problems with regard to its early shape,<sup>20</sup> certain issues concerning the interrelationship of the various redactions, its Christological formulae in the different sections of the Anaphora, and the *interpolation of the Creed* before the beginning of the Anaphora proper<sup>21</sup> *still absent*, for example, in the manuscripts of the first Armenian redaction of the Liturgy of Basil.

In contrast to the monographs on the Liturgy of Basil published between 2004 and 2005, we have no recent scholarly monographs on the various redactions of the Liturgy of James. Thus far most work on the Syriac transmission of the Liturgy of James was done by G. Khouri-Sarkis between 1959 to 1962, and more recently by B. Varghese with his general overviews of 2001, written for students, and of 2008.<sup>22</sup> Yet it is advisable to consult as well the exceedingly valuable introductions to the various editions of this Liturgy: in the 1946 edition of the Greek text by Ch. Mercier<sup>23</sup>; in A. Rücker's 1913 publication of the Syriac text,<sup>24</sup> and

<sup>20</sup> For several reasons I shall not dwell on the extant publications concerning the problems of the Jerusalem Myst. Cat. IV and V, but refer, instead, first of all to the fact that Jerusalem was bilingual; moreover, to the contribution of J. M. Sauget, "Vestiges d'une célébration gréco-syriaque de l'anaphore de Saint Jaques," in: C. Laga (et al.), *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Prof. Albert van Roey for his 70th Birthday* (Louvain 1985), 309-345; and to the conclusions derived from the study of the Syriac manuscript tradition by O. Heimig (see below), who distinguished (1) between the 6th cent. translation containing the Old Syriac version, which served as a basis for the important Ethiopic and Armenian versions (see below); (2) the 8th cent. version attributed to Jacob of Edessa, who, according to the manuscripts, had corrected the Old Syriac version on the basis of the Greek text.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. A. Baumstark, "Der älteste Text der griechischen Jakobusliturgie," OC 3 (1903), 214-219, here: 216: "Der Text beginnt in dem christologischen Passus einer griechischen und arabischen Bekenntnisformel, einer langatmigen Erweiterung des Taufsymbols ..."; 217: *presence of the Creed* before the Anaphora proper [for the text cf. Brightman, 44]; for **georg Jm I + II** cf. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgie Ibericae* (for full reference see below n. 28), 5, 41 [= *textus*] / 4, 30 [= *versio*], *still absent*, for example, in the first Armenian redaction of the Liturgy of Basil [**arm Bas I**]. In contrast to **arm Bas I**, the oldest manuscript of **byz Bas** [Cod. Barberini 336] indicates the Creed immediately before the beginning of the anaphora; cf. Parenti – Velkovska, 62:

<sup>22</sup> Cf. G. Khouri-Sarkis in OS 4 (1959), 385-448; 5 (1960), 1-32, 129-158, 363-384; 7 (1962), 277-296; 8 (1963), 3-20; B. Varghese, *The Syriac Version of the Liturgy of James. A Brief History for Students* (Alcuin / Grow Joint Liturgical Studies 49, Cambridge 2001); idem, "The Anaphora of James and Jacob of Edessa," in: Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 18, Leiden / Boston 2008), 239-264; idem, *West-Syrian Liturgical Theology* (Aldershot Burlington 2004).

<sup>23</sup> For **gr Jm** cf. crit. edition of B.-Ch. Mercier, *La liturgie de Saint Jaques. Edition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine* (Patrologia Orientalis 26, Paris 1946).

above all in the 1953 Syriac versions published by O. Heiming and A. Raes<sup>25</sup>. Moreover, one must also consult the 1915 edition of the Ethiopic version by S. Euringer,<sup>26</sup> the 1897 edition of the Armenian text by Catergian – Dashian,<sup>27</sup> and the 1950 Georgian redactions of M. Tarchnišvili<sup>28</sup>. To the latter Georgian edition the more recent studies of S. Verhelst should be added, along with the serious critique of Verhelst's publication by G. Rouwhorst.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. A. Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora nach der Rezension des Jaqôb(h) von Edessa (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 4, Münster 1923)*. See, moreover, R. H. Connolly – H. W. Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy by George the Bishop of the Arab Tribes and Moses bar Kepha: Together with the Syriac Anaphora of James and a Document entitled the Book of Life. Texts and English Translations* (London / Oxford 1913): English translation, 91-127.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. critical edition (with Latin translation) of **syr Jm I**: O. Heiming, "Anaphora syriaca sancti Iacobi Fratris Domini," in: *Anaphorae Syriacae* II/2 (Rome 1953), 105-177; summary on the mss used by Rucker and Heiming by Varghese, *The Syriac Version of the Liturgy of St. James*, 7-9; *idem*, "The Anaphora of Saint James and Jacob of Edessa," 243-245; for **syr Jm II** cf. A. Raes, "Anaphora syriaca minor sancti Iacobi Fratris Domini," in: *Anaphorae Syriacae* II/2 (Rome 1953), 181-209.

<sup>26</sup> This Ethiopian witness (**eth Jm**) has been preserved in the *Cod. aeth.* 74 of the Paris *Bibl. Nat.*, fol. 90 col.d to fol. 96 col.c, published by S. Euringer (with German translation), "Die Anaphora des hl. Jakobus, des Bruders des Herrn," *OC n.s.* 4 (1915), 1-23. See, moreover, the remarks of Heiming in his introduction to **syr Jm I**: "Anaphora Iacobi I," 110-111.

<sup>27</sup> This Armenian witness (**arm Jm**) has come down to us in a single manuscript, Lyons *Cod. arm* 17 of A.D. 1314, fol. 129<sup>r</sup>-141<sup>v</sup>, published in: Catergian – Dashian, 439-446; Latin translation by A. Baumstark, "Denkmäler altarmenischer Meßliturgie: 3. Die armenische Rezension der Jakobusliturgie," *OC n.s.* 7-8 (1918), 1-32. A new edition, translation, and commentary is planned by G. Winkler for the series: *Anaphorae Orientales* with its sub-series: *Anaphorae Armeniacae*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. ed. (and Latin translation) by M. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgiae Ibericae antiquiores* (CSCO 122-123, *script. iber.* I/1, Louvain 1950); *idem*, "Eine neue georgische Jakobusliturgie," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 62 (1948), 49-82; F. C. Conybeare – O. Wardrop, "The Georgian Version of the Liturgy of St. James," *ROC* 18 (1913), 396-420; 19 (1914), 155-173; J. Jedlička, "Das Prager Fragment der altegeorgischen Jakobusliturgie," *Archiv Orientalni* 29 (Prag 1961), 183-196; A. Jacob, "Variantes italo-grecques et géorgiennes d'une prière de la 'Liturgie' de saint Jaques," *Mus* 78 (1965), 292-298; s. moreover H.-J. Feulner, "Zu den Editionen orientalischer Anaphoren," in: H.-J. Feulner – E. Velkovska – R. Taft (eds.), *Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler* (OCA 260, Rome 2000), 281-282.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. for example, S. Verhelst, "La messe de Jérusalem. Bilan d'une recherche," *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 28 (1997), 236-270; *idem*, *Les traditions judéo-chrétiennes dans la liturgie de Jérusalem, spécialement la Liturgie de saint Jaques frère de Dieu (Textes et études liturgiques / Studies in Liturgy* 18, Louvain 2003). Verhelst's latter study deals with five prayers: the Trishagion-Prayer, the Proskomidi-Prayer, the Prayer for forgiveness in connection with commemorations, the Litany before the Anaphora, the Ektene after the Gospel (in **Bas + Chrys**, but before the Gospel in **Jm**); cf. G. Rouwhorst's pertinent critique concerning the methodological problems of Verhelst's study in *Vigiliae Christianae* 62 (2008), 90-101.

The premature study published in 1992 by J. R. K. Fenwick on the alleged common origin of the Anaphoras of St. Basil and St. James,<sup>30</sup> was based on an analysis of translations of translations. The other English publications dependent on Fenwick have been superseded by the above mentioned more serious investigations from 2004 to 2009 based on the extant original texts of the Liturgy of Basil.

This brings me to some observations and suggestions about methodology. It seems to me indispensable to consult the various texts in their original languages, for several past translations are no longer entirely reliable given the new insights gained through recent philological investigations concerning, for example, Christological technical terms and expressions, and the systematic collection and analysis of the praise-verbs in the East-Syrian Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari (**syr Ap-An**), in the various redactions of the Anaphora of Basil (**Bas**), and in other Eastern witnesses (see below).

Today we are, moreover, aware of the fact that several Eastern Liturgies are based on the conflation of a variety of building blocks deriving from differing ideas and origins, which later on competed with each other, leading thereby to major manipulations of the original layers of the Anaphora, as was pointed out in my investigation of the various redactions of Basil as well as of the East-Syrian Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari.

# I. *The Concern for "Orthodoxy": The Interpolation of the Creed before the Anaphora Proper<sup>31</sup> and the Christological Formulae in the Oratio (ante and) post Sanctus*

The declaratory Creed was interpolated into Eastern Liturgies during the fifth to sixth centuries as proof of orthodoxy in the context of the Christological controversies.<sup>32</sup> This interpolation of the Creed was pre-

<sup>30</sup> Cf. J. R. K. Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St. Basil and St. James: An Investigation into their Common Origin* (OCA 240, Rome 1992). For this study, which misunderstood Engendering's thesis (whom Fenwick intended to supersede), see my detailed review in: OC 78 (1994), 269-277.

<sup>31</sup> The overview on the Creeds is based on my study: *Entwicklungsgeschichte*. See also below, notes 51-53.

<sup>32</sup> The monophysites and their opponents alike claimed that they were citing the "Nicene" Creed, which, of course, is not so much a reflection of the "*Nicaenum*" but rather an attempt to prove their "orthodoxy." For the interpolation of the Creed cf. L. Abramowski, "Die liturgische Homilie des Ps. Narses mit dem Messbekenntnis und einem Theodor-Zitat," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78 (*The Church of the East: Life and Thought*, 1996), 87-100, here: 92-93; Winkler, "Findikyan's Study," 402-407; *eadem*, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 24-25, 562-565. For the oldest Egyptian witness cf. W. F.

ceded by another process of major significance, namely the reshaping of all major parts of the Anaphora by inserting Credal formulae, as for example in the Anaphora of Basil, which allow new conclusions about the background of the Christology of this Anaphora.<sup>33</sup> These Credal formulae, predominantly present, for example, in the Oratio post Sanctus of the Anaphora of Basil, but also in some versions in the Oratio ante Sanctus, belong to a considerably earlier layer than the actual interpolation of the Creed before the Anaphora proper.

Both the Credal statements in the various parts of the Anaphora, as also the declaratory Creed before the beginning of the Anaphora proper, served to prove the "orthodoxy" of the individual Christian communities.

With regard to the declaratory Creed before the Anaphora we have to be mindful that initially the Nicene Creed was by no means considered normative. The Antiochene bishops, for example, resisted the intrusion of speculative philosophical language into the Creed, in particular the οὐσία- and ὁμοούσιος formulae, suggesting instead that the biblical language be retained to express the relationship of the Son with the Father.<sup>34</sup> The Anaphora of Basil in *all* its versions reflects the Christological discussions of the aftermath of the Nicene Council as expressed in the Christological formulae of the Antiochene Synod of 341.<sup>35</sup>

In connection with the declaratory Creed placed before the beginning of the Anaphora proper, we have to realize that not only the fathers of the fifth to sixth centuries claimed that their Creed was the *Nicene* Creed, using the term "*Nicene*" in its broadest possible sense as proof of their "Orthodoxy." But also later liturgical documents held on to this claim, including even many modern liturgical publications, which assume as well that the Creed in the Liturgy is the *Nicaenum*.<sup>36</sup> For example, the Creed used during the present-day Armenian Liturgy of Athanasius is

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Macomber, "The Nicene Creed in a Liturgical Fragment of the 5th or 6th Century from Upper Egypt," OC 77 (1993), 98-103.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 24-25, 562-565; *eadem*, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren in liturgievergleichender Sicht II: Das Formelgut der Oratio post Sanctus und Anamnese sowie Interzessionen und die Taufbekenntnisse," in: R. F. Taft – G. Winkler (eds.), *Acts of the International Congress Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872-1948)*, Rome, 25-29 September 1998 (OCA 265, Rome 2001), 403-497.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Winkler, "Anhang," 107-159; *eadem*, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 243-273, here: 247-260; *eadem*, "Antiochene Synods," 275-298; *eadem*, "Armenia's Liturgy," 363-387.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 566-577, 579-582, 741-750, 844-861, 866-870.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. my review of Maija Priess, *Die äthiopische Chrysostomos-Anaphora (Äthiopistische Forschungen 68, Wiesbaden 2006)*, in OC 91 (2007), 260-268, here: 268; or Findikyan's recently published important doctoral dissertation: *The Commentary of the Armenian Daily Office by Bishop Step'anos Siwnec'i († 735): Critical Edition and Translation with Textual and Liturgical Analysis* (OCA 270, Rome 2004), 185/211 n. 117, 439, Indices, 629: "Creed, Nicene"; and my comments: "Findikyan's Study," 402-407.

and was *not* the "*Nicene Creed*," unless we take the term "*Nicene*" in its broadest possible sense as demonstrating the "Orthodoxy" of the Armenians. The Armenians have made use of several Creeds:<sup>37</sup>

The oldest witness in the context of the *Anaphora of Basil* (including **arm Bas I**) are the *Antiochene Credal formulae of 341*, contained in several parts of all the versions of this *Anaphora*;<sup>38</sup>

(1) The *actual Nicaenum* is preserved in several Armenian letters. The first two letters stem from Armenian Patriarchs: the *Letter of Sahak* (of 435) and the first *Letter of Babgēn* (506); moreover, the sixth-century Creed contained in the *Letter of Cyril*.<sup>39</sup>

(2) Siwnec'i's eighth-century Commentary is the oldest witness for the actual reference to the *declaratory Creed before the Anaphora proper*. Here the Creed is referred to by citing the *Incipit* only, either in the first person *singular* ("I believe") deriving from *baptism*, or with the later first person *plural* ("We believe"). "I believe" is the standard form of Siwnec'i's Commentary; the later "We believe" occurs just once, and only in the short version.<sup>40</sup>

The earlier form ("I believe") pertains to the Armenian Baptismal Ordo, with an interesting difference in the two oldest mss of the 9th to 10th cent.: in *Cod. Erevan 1001* there is no reference that this is allegedly the "*Nicene*" Creed; whereas *Cod. Venice 320* says: "and they perform the '*I believe*' [of] *Nicea* completely."<sup>41</sup>

(3) The first witness to cite the *entire declaratory Creed in the Liturgies of Basil and Athanasius* is the *Venice Cod. of San Lazzaro 1411* of the second half of the 13th cent.: the second Armenian translation of the *Anaphora of Basil* (**arm Bas II**), fol. 142<sup>v</sup>-143<sup>v</sup>, contains an earlier form of the so-called *Armeniacum*: "We believe ..."; the Armenian *Liturgy of Athanasius*, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>, reflects also the *Armeniacum*: "We believe ..."<sup>42</sup>

The so-called *Armeniacum* seems to have been cited in its entirety for the first time in Sebēos (600 – ca 662), as I have pointed out in my *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 223. This Creed, also used *today* in the *Liturgy of Athanasius*, is *not* the "*Nicaenum*," but consists of a conflation of the *Hierosolymitanum*, the *Nicaenum*,

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Winkler, "Findikyan's Study," 403-407.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, Indices, 892: "Synode von Antiochien 341"; see also my overview, 866-870.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 125-139, 167-180, 191-194.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Winkler, "Findikyan's Study," 404. For the inclusion of the "I believe" (= Coptic version) and the "We believe" (= Ethiopian text) in connection with the statements about the Incarnation in the *Oratio post Sanctus of the Liturgy of Basil* cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 606-607.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. G. Winkler, *Das armēnische Initiationsrituale. Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jahrhunderts* (OCA 217, Rome 1982), 198 with n. 114.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 114-122.

the *Hermeneia*, and the *Creed of Babgēn*, as was explained in my *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 225-229.

(3) Finally we have to mention the Creed in the Armenian *Horologion* (*Žam-agirk'*), apparently once the Armenian Baptismal Creed prior to its substitution by the *Armeniacum*.<sup>43</sup>

Let us turn now to the Christological formulae found in the *Oratio post Sanctus* of the Anaphoras of Basil and James. It is well known that the *Oratio post Sanctus*, which refers at the beginning to the creation and the fall, followed by the history of salvation (and is thereby an important witness to its Christology) betrays several common traits in the Anaphoras of Basil and James. We observe this if we take, for example, the Greek Egyptian redaction of Basil (**eg gr Bas**) and the Greek text of the Liturgy of James (**gr Jm**), as did A. Budde in his 2001 study.<sup>44</sup> Budde's article consists of a highly speculative comparison of the Greek Egyptian version of the Anaphora of Basil (**eg gr Bas**), the Greek version of the Liturgy of James (**gr Jm**), and the East-Syrian Anaphora of Nestorius (**sy Nest**), behind which A. Budde assumed a common oral tradition, comparable to the Jazz-improvisations of a Charlie Parker.<sup>45</sup> In reality these formulations rely predominately on Credal fragments. Hence I would suggest the following approach based on a philological analysis of all the extant versions of both Anaphoras:

(1) Fundamental to new insights is a systematic collection of all the pertinent Christological technical terms and expressions, in particular those concerning the relationship of the Son with the Father and how the οὐσία- and ὁμοούσιος formulae are rendered in the various oriental versions regardless of where they occur, before or after the *Sanctus*. The *Oratio post Sanctus* of the Anaphora of James and the *Egyptian* version of the Anaphora of Basil, in contrast to the other versions of Basil, do not speak about the relationship of the Son with the Father. Only those expressions are present that concern the creation, fall, and Incarnation, and show in these sections of both Anaphoras considerable closeness with each other. This conspicuous silence in the Egyptian Anaphora of Basil begs for an answer. Since this concerns in particular the Christological statements expressing the *relationship of the Son with the Father*, which the Armenian version (**arm Bas I**) incorporated not only in the *Oratio post Sanctus* but also in the *Oratio ante Sanctus*, it is highly

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 203-222, 593-620.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. A. Budde, "Improvisation im Eucharistiegebet. Zur Technik freien Betens in der Kirche," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 44 (2001), 127-141.

<sup>45</sup> For a critique, cf. Winkler, *Basilian-Anaphora*, 28-29, 31, 50-51.



significant that precisely this central Antiochene Christology is missing in the Egyptian version.<sup>46</sup>

How should we interpret this finding? The central question is, of course, whether the redactor of the Egyptian version actually may have felt it necessary to distance the Egyptian text from this key Antiochene argument of how the Son is related to the Father, or whether the Egyptian version with the missing statement about the Son's relationship to the Father has to be given priority over against its presence in the Armenian version.

In this context we have to remember the highly significant fact that the short Egyptian redaction does contain a good many Antiochene Christological formulae as, for example, the introductory formula of the Incarnation, as well as the formulae for the Resurrection and the Parousia. Furthermore, the entire Anamnesis is patterned after the Christology of the Antiochene Synod of 341 — just to mention the most conspicuous parallels.<sup>47</sup> Only the central Antiochene argument of the Synod of 341, namely how the Son is related to the Father, is absent in the Egyptian version of the Anaphora. This intriguing absence raises the question whether the Egyptians did not feel it preferable to drop this central Antiochene Christological statement in order to avoid too close an association with a Christology not of its making. For the Christology of the Antiochene Synods of 341 (to 345), part of the struggle against Arianism, also included the attempt to bypass the *Nicaenum*, so dear to Athanasius, by adopting scriptural passages in order to avoid the Nicene formula of the *homoousios* and *ousia*. Hence the possibility of a later reworking of this part of the *Oratio post Sanctus* of the *Egyptian* version of Basil and its adaptation to the *Egyptian* tradition cannot be excluded.<sup>48</sup>

Moreover, closest attention should be given to the precise formulation of the Incarnation in all extant versions by analysing the respective original texts of both Anaphoras (for the Anaphora of Basil I refer to my extensive analysis).<sup>49</sup> Not only the precise vocabulary, but also the earlier absence of any reference to the Holy Spirit, or the later inclusion of the Holy Spirit, allow important conclusions with regard to the evolution of the formulations of the Incarnation in these Anaphoras.

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilian-Anaphora*, 561-584 (= the development of the so-called 'Oratio Theologica' within the *Oratio ante Sanctus*), 589-692 (= the detailed investigation of the 'Oratio Christologica' in the *Oratio post Sanctus*), 866-870 (= summary).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 866-870 (= summary).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Winkler, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 247-260.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilian-Anaphora*, 589-692 (= detailed analysis of the Christology in the *Oratio post Sanctus*).

(2) These Christological terms and expressions, often based on Scriptural passages,<sup>50</sup> should be analysed and compared to the various Credal fragments and Creeds known to us by the collections of the Greek formulae by A. Hahn (for the *Nicaenum* cf. G. L. Dossetti)<sup>51</sup>; the studies of the evolution of the Syriac terminology by A. de Halleux and S. Brock<sup>52</sup>; and the development of the Armenian vocabulary, including references to the Georgian and Ethiopic evidence by G. Winkler.<sup>53</sup> These studies demonstrated the process of ever closer adaptations of the Greek vocabulary with its technical terms, by coining Syriac and Armenian neologisms during the fifth to sixth centuries, which can be traced with consider-

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Winkler, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 247-260; *eadem*, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 561-584 (= analysis of the *Oratio ante Sanctus*), 589-692 (= investigation of the *Oratio post Sanctus*).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln in der alten Kirche. Dritte vielfach veränderte und vermehrte Auflage von G. L. Hahn mit einem Anhang von A. Harnack* (Breslau 1887, photomech. reprint Hildesheim 1962); G. L. Dossetti, *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli. Edizione critica (Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose 2, Rome / Freiburg 1967)*.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. A. de Halleux, "Le symbole des évêques perses au synode de Séleucie-Ctésiphone (410)," in: G. Wiessner (ed.), *Erkenntnisse und Meinungen II (Göttinger Orientforschungen I/17, Wiesbaden 1978)*, 161-190; *idem*, "Le deuxième lettre de Philoxène aux monastères du Beit Gaugai," *Mus* 96 (1983), 5-79; *idem*, "La Philoxénienne du symbole," in: *Symposium Syriacum 1976 (OCA 205, Rome 1978)*, 295-315; S. P. Brock, "Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition," in: M. Schmidt – C. F. Geyer (eds.), *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Kirchenvätern und ihre Parallelen im Mittelalter (Eichstätter Beiträge 4, Regensburg 1982)*, 11-38; *idem*, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries: Preliminary Considerations and Materials," in: *Aksum – Thyateira. A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain* (Athen 1985), 125-142; *idem*, "The Church of the East in the Sasanian Empire up to the Sixth Century and its Absence from the Councils in the Roman Empire," *Pro Oriente. Syriac Dialogue* 1 (Vienna 1994), 69-86; *idem*, "The Nestorian Church: a Lamentable Misnomer," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78 (*The Church of the East: Life and Thought*, 1996), 23-35.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. G. Winkler, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*; *eadem*, "Anhang," 107-159; *eadem*, "Findikyan's Study," 402-407; *eadem*, "Das theologische Formelgut über den Schöpfer, das θεοομοίος, die Inkarnation und Menschwerdung in den georgischen Troparien des *Iudgari* im Spiegel der christlich-orientalischen Quellen," *OC* 84 (2000), 117-177; *eadem*, "A Decade of Research on the Armenian Rite 1993-2003," in: R. F. Taft (ed.), *The Formation of a Millennial Tradition: 1700 Years of Armenian Christian Witness (301-2001). In Honor of the Visit to the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, of His Holiness Karekin II, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, November 11, 2000 (OCA 271, Rome 2004)*, 183-210; *eadem*, "Zur Signifikanz," 23-45. For the Ethiopic version of the *Nicaenum* cf. B. M. Weischer, "Die ursprüngliche nikänische Form des ersten Glaubenssymbols im Ankyrōtos des Epiphanius von Salamis. Ein Beitrag zur Diskussion um die Entstehung des konstantinopolitanischen Glaubenssymbols im Lichte neuester äthiopischer Forschungen," *Theologie und Philosophie* 53 (1978), 407-414; *idem*, *Qērellos IV/1: Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesos (Athiopistische Forschungen 4, Wiesbaden 1979)*.

able certainty in the Syriac and Armenian sources, as well as hypothetically in the Georgian and Ethiopic documents.<sup>54</sup>

(3) In addition to the philological analysis of the Christological sections in the *Oratio post Sanctus*, the presence of the declaratory Creed, interpolated before the Anaphora proper in nearly all the versions of the Liturgies of Basil and James deserves closer scrutiny. For this Creed is still absent in both manuscripts of the first Armenian redaction of Basil (**arm Bas I**).<sup>55</sup>

(4) Besides the Liturgy of James, the Liturgy of Jerusalem, there are other important witnesses to the hagiopolite Liturgy as, for example, the *Iadgari*, the Georgian collection of Troparia. It is commonly assumed that the oldest layers of the *Iadgari* go back to the fifth century *hagiopolite* tradition. Now the presence of Christological formulae of *Antiochene* origin in several of these Georgian troparia, in addition to the intriguing presence of allusions to the Anaphora of Basil in the *Iadgari* and in the eighth century Armenian Commentary of Step'anos Siwnec'i, invite us to include in future investigations of the Liturgy of James also the extant studies concerning the influence of the *Antiochene* Christological formulae of 341 and 345 and the possible influence of the Anaphora of Basil on the Liturgy of Jerusalem.<sup>56</sup>

The pursuit of the above mentioned suggestions would likely lead to a better understanding of the interrelationship of the various redactions of the Liturgy of James, and provide new insights into the interdependence of the Anaphora of James and Basil with respect to the *Oratio post Sanctus*; moreover, it would add new information about the interpolation of the Creed into these Liturgies.

Until these studies are undertaken, no reliable conclusions can be expected about the interconnection of the *Oratio post Sanctus* in these two Anaphoras. The partial relationship between the *Egyptian* Liturgy of Basil and the *Jerusalem* Liturgy of James is obvious. However, the Chris-

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 286-287, 332-374, 375-466; *eadem*, "Anhang," 109-119; *eadem*, "Das theologische Formelgut," 133-177; *eadem*, "Zur Signifikanz," 31-38.

<sup>55</sup> For the interpolation of the Creed before the Anaphora proper of the Liturgy of James see, for example, **georg Jm I + II**; cf. edition of M. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgiae Ibericae*, 5, 41 [= *textus*] / 4, 30 [= *versio*]. In contrast to **arm Bas I**, the oldest manuscript of **byz Bas** [*Cod. Barberini* 336] indicates the Creed immediately before the beginning of the anaphora; cf. Parenti - Velkovska, 62.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. G. Winkler, "Einige bemerkenswerte christologische Aussagen im georgischen *Iadgari*. Ein Vergleich mit verwandten armenischen Quellen," *OC* 91 (2007), 134-163; *eadem*, "Das theologische Formelgut über den Schöpfer, das ὁμοούσιος, die Inkarnation und Menschwerdung in den georgischen Troparien des *Iadgari* im Spiegel der christlich-orientalischen Quellen," 117-177; *eadem*, "Findikyan's Study," 399, 407-414.

tological formulae in the Armenian version of the Anaphora of Basil (**arm Bas I**) seem to point toward a priority of this version over against the Egyptian text of the Liturgy of Basil and the Anaphora of James. Something similar seems true for the interpolation of the declaratory Creed before the Anaphora proper: again **arm Bas I**, where the Creed is still missing, provides earlier evidence over against the presence of the Creed in several other redactions of Basil and the various versions of the Liturgy of James. Yet the preliminary nature of these observations must be emphasized. They have also something to do with the necessary future inclusion of still unpublished Georgian material and renewed studies of the Ethiopic and Armenian versions of the Liturgy of James, since the Ethiopic and Armenian translations seem to mirror an earlier version of the Syriac texts of the Anaphora of James.<sup>57</sup>

## II. *Some Observations Regarding the Praise of God by the Angels and the People Including the various Ranks of the Angels in the Oratio ante Sanctus*<sup>58</sup>

It may be useful to begin with some methodological remarks concerning the translation of the Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopic praise-verbs. For the sake of clarity, and in order to scrutinize more closely the vocabulary of praise in the various Anaphoras, it was deemed indispensable to procede as follows: (1) First, it was necessary to collect on a systematic basis the Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopic verbs of praise in the respective original languages. (2) In order to facilitate a comparison in greater detail, the relevant vocabulary was then retrotranslated into Greek, providing thereby the precise Armenian, Syriac, and Ethiopic equivalent of the Greek verbs. (3) This systematic collection and comparison allowed greater precision and thereby several modifications of prior Greek retrotranslations of the Syriac and Armenian vocabulary by H. Engberding, and earlier Latin, English or German translations. (4) This procedure led to several clarifications, as was pointed out in my studies of the Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic and Coptic praise-verbs; as well as of those in the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari (**sy Ap-An**)<sup>59</sup>; in the versions of the Anaphora of Basil (**Bas**)<sup>60</sup>; in the Ethiopian

<sup>57</sup> Cf. notes 26-27.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. detailed survey and analysis in Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 353-516; *eadem*, "Beobachtungen zu den im ante Sanctus angeführten Engeln und ihre Bedeutung," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 183 (2003), 213-238; *eadem*, "Unsolved Problems"; *eadem*, "Über das christliche Erbe Henochs."

<sup>59</sup> For the Anaphora of the Apostles (**sy Ap-An**) Addai and Mari cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 291-298 (= analysis of the verbs in the Initial Dialogue), 414-417, 431-451 (= the

Anaphoras, including the praise-verbs in Enoch in connection with the Qedusha<sup>61</sup>; and in the Ethiopic and Syriac versions of the Testamentum Domini<sup>62</sup>; to which will now be added an analysis of the praise-verbs in the various versions of the Anaphora of James (**Jm**). The evidence in the redactions of **Jm** further strengthens the conclusions with regard to the various versions of **Bas** and other Anaphoras.

In the Oratio ante Sanctus of the Anaphoras of Addai and Mari, Basil, and many other Eastern Eucharistic Prayers, the theme of praise is inaugurated with the worship of God by the faithful,<sup>63</sup> followed by the "Heavenly Liturgy of the Angels" with its main protagonists, the Cherubim and Seraphim *in that order!* Our oldest witness to this "Liturgy of the Angels" is undoubtedly the East-Syrian Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari (**syr Ap-An**).

The problem of the various ranks of angels cannot be solved without taking into account the praise-verbs with which God is worshiped by the people and the angels, for the reference to the various categories of angels is intimately intertwined with their worship and the verbs used for this purpose.<sup>64</sup> Again, the evidence of the Armenian version of the Anaphora of Basil (**arm Bas I**, and partially also **arm Bas II**) probably must be given priority over the *Egyptian* version and the other redactions of the Anaphora of Basil,<sup>65</sup> while several versions of the Anaphora of James that deviate from the Greek text are of major importance as well.

As was stated already, this theme of praise falls into two parts in many Eastern Liturgies, the worship of God by the faithful followed by his worship by the angels. This is the case, for example, in **syr Ap-An** of Addai and Mari and in the versions of the Anaphora of James and of Basil, with the astonishing exception of the *Egyptian* redaction of **Bas**,

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praise-verbs connected with the worship of God by the faithful and the angels; pp. 417-439: comparison of **syr Ap-An** and **arm Bas I**); *eadem*, "Unsolved Problems."

<sup>60</sup> For the various versions of **Bas**, cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 419-451 with an overview on the retrotranslation into Greek of the Syriac and Armenian verbs, 441-445, 753-774 (= the praise-verbs before the Epiclesis); *eadem*, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 260-267; *eadem*, "Unsolved Problems."

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 425-431; for the Ethiopian Anaphoras see now Winkler, "Über das christliche Erbe Henochs."

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Winkler, "Über das christliche Erbe Henochs."

<sup>63</sup> Not so in the *Egyptian* version of Basil, which says nothing about the praise of God by the people. Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 440-445; *eadem*, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 263-265.

<sup>64</sup> It is indispensable to consult the various versions, and not to rely on past (English) translations.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Winkler, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 243-273, here: 260-267.

which does not refer to the praise of God by the faithful, in contrast to all other versions of Basil and *all* versions of the Anaphora of James.

# 1. The Praise-Verbs in Connection with the Worship of God by the Faithful in the Various Versions of the Anaphoras of Basil and James

The Armenian, Syriac, and Ethiopic vocabulary will be presented in Greek with English translation:

## (a) *The Praise of God by the Faithful in the Anaphora of Basil*

consists of a string of verbs<sup>66</sup> with two important exceptions:

— the Egyptian version of Basil *does not include this praise by the community*<sup>67</sup>

— **arm Bas I** provides the oldest text of **Bas**

with just one single verb (δοξάζειν = 'to glorify')<sup>68</sup>

**syr Bas** has four verbs:<sup>69</sup>

αἰνεῖν ('to sing') – ὑμνεῖν ('to laud')

εὐχαριστεῖν ('to thank') – δοξάζειν ('to glorify');

**byz Bas** has six verbs:<sup>70</sup>

αἰνεῖν ('to sing') – ὑμνεῖν ('to laud')

εὐλογεῖν ('to praise') – προσκυνεῖν ('to adore')

εὐχαριστεῖν ('to thank') – δοξάζειν ('to glorify').

## (b) *The Anaphora of James*

has the *same praise-verbs* as **byz Bas** in the following two versions of **Jm**:

**gr Jm** with an *inversion of the last two verbs*: δοξάζειν – εὐχαριστεῖν;<sup>71</sup>

followed precisely by **georg Jm II**;<sup>72</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Overview in Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 440-445.

<sup>67</sup> For **eg Bas** cf. Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilius-Anaphora*, 144; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 440, 442-444; eadem, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 260-267.

<sup>68</sup> For **arm Bas** cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 442, 444.

<sup>69</sup> For **syr Bas** cf. ed. of I.E. Rahmani, *Missale iuxta Ritum Ecclesiae Apostolicae Antiochenae Syrorum* (Sharf 1922), 175-176; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 441, 443, 445.

<sup>70</sup> For **byz Bas** cf. *Cod. Berberini* 336; ed. of Parenti-Velkovska, 64; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 443, 445.

<sup>71</sup> For **gr Jm** cf. Mercier, 198: αἰνεῖν ('to sing') – ὑμνεῖν ('to laud') – εὐλογεῖν ('to praise') – προσκυνεῖν ('to adore') – δοξάζειν ('to glorify') – εὐχαριστεῖν ('to thank'); followed precisely by **georg Jm II**, cf. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgie Ibericae*, 47/35.

<sup>72</sup> For **georg Jm II** cf. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgie Ibericae*, 47/35: αἰνεῖν ('to sing') – ὑμνεῖν ('to laud') – εὐλογεῖν ('to praise') – προσκυνεῖν ('to adore') – δοξάζειν ('to glorify') – εὐχαριστεῖν ('to thank').

**georg Jm I** has:<sup>73</sup>

αἰνεῖν ('to sing') – ὑμνεῖν ('to laud')

εὐλογεῖν ('to praise') – δοξάζειν ('to glorify') – προσκυνεῖν ('to adore')

εὐχαριστεῖν ('to thank');

considerably different, and much more significant than the other versions of **Jm** are:

**eth Jm** with:<sup>74</sup>

δοξάζειν ('to glorify') – εὐλογεῖν ('to praise')

εὐχαριστεῖν ('to thank') – προσκυνεῖν ('to adore');

**syr Jm I**<sup>75</sup> and **arm Jm**<sup>76</sup>:

δοξάζειν ('to glorify') – εὐλογεῖν ('to praise')

αἰνεῖν ('to sing') – προσκυνεῖν ('to adore') – εὐχαριστεῖν ('to thank');

**syr Jm II** has:<sup>77</sup>

εὐχαριστεῖν ('to thank') – προσκυνεῖν ('to adore') – δοξάζειν ('to glorify').

Before I explain the theological significance of these praise-verbs in the context of the worship of God *by the community* at the beginning of the Oratio ante Sanctus, I want to make the following observations:

(1) The Armenian version (**arm Bas I**) reflects here the original text of the Anaphora of Basil by indicating just one single verb, namely δοξάζειν ('to glorify'): the faithful *glorify* God.

(2) Two versions of the Anaphora of James, namely **eth Jm** and **syr Jm II**, are especially noteworthy, for neither contains the verb-pair αἰνεῖν ('to sing') – ὑμνεῖν ('to laud'). This verb-pair occurs frequently in the Egyptian tradition (cf. Serapion, Mark, Gregory).<sup>78</sup>

(3) In the majority of the versions of **Jm** (**gr Jm**, **georg Jm I + II**, **syr Jm**, **arm Jm**) the verb εὐχαριστεῖν ('to thank') is placed at the end, only **syr Jm II** has it at the beginning; in **eth Jm** εὐχαριστεῖν was interpolated after the two older verbs δοξάζειν ('to glorify') – εὐλογεῖν ('to praise') and before προσκυνεῖν ('to adore').

<sup>73</sup> For **georg Jm I** cf. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgie Ibericae*, 11/9.

<sup>74</sup> For **eth Jm II** cf. Euringer, "Die Anaphora des hl. Jakobus," 2/3 [the Ethiopic text should be consulted, not the German translation].

<sup>75</sup> For **syr Jm I** cf. crit. ed. of Heimig, "Anaphora Iacobi I," 142 /143; one ms (*Cod. Paris Bibl. Nat.* 71) witnesses an inversion of the last two verbs: first εὐχαριστεῖν, followed by προσκυνεῖν.

<sup>76</sup> For **arm Jm** cf. *Cod. Lyons arm 17*, fol. 133<sup>r</sup>; Catergian – Dashian, 439.

<sup>77</sup> For **syr Jm II** cf. crit. ed. of Raes, "Anaphora Iacobi II," 194/195 [no variants in the mss].

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 440, 446, 447, 448.

Let us now turn to the adoration of God *by the angels* in the ante Sanctus, for the praise of God by the faithful and the angels are intimately associated with each other, as we shall see shortly.

## 2. The Praise-Verbs of the Worship of the Angels in the Redactions of the Anaphoras of Basil and James

### (a) *The Praise of God by the Angels in the Anaphora of Basil*

contains the following dominant verbs:<sup>79</sup>

προσκυνεῖν combined with εὐλογεῖν *or* δοξάζειν (in that order).<sup>80</sup>

The **Anaphora of James** in its various versions,

**gr Jm**, **eth Jm**, **sy Jm I**, and **georg Jm II**,<sup>81</sup>

offers *just one verb*, namely δοξάζειν ('to glorify')<sup>82</sup>

in connection with the *highest ranks of angels*,

the *Cherubim and Seraphim* (in that order<sup>83</sup>);

with one significant exception:

**sy Jm II**:<sup>84</sup> the highest ranks of angels *sanctify* [محبهم (ἀγιάσουσιν)] God. Similarly, **sy Bas**, where the ranks of the δυνάμεις "sanctify" God;<sup>85</sup>

See, moreover, the clarification in the *Oratio ante Pater noster* of **sy Jm II**:<sup>86</sup>

"Deus ..., qui a cherubim **benediceris** et a seraphim **sanctificaris** ...."

Not only **sy Jm II** says that the Cherubim "praise" (εὐλογεῖν) God

and the Seraphim "sanctify" him, but also **sy Diosc I + II** (here in the ante Sanctus).<sup>87</sup>

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 419-451, overview on the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian verbs, 441-445.

<sup>80</sup> The *Egyptian* version of Basil has προσκυνεῖν combined with ὑμνεῖν; **byz Bas** (*Cod. Barb.* 336) has substituted προσκυνεῖν with λατρεῖν; for an overview cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 443, 445; *eadem*, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 260-267.

<sup>81</sup> For **gr Jm** cf. Mercier, 200; for **eth Jm** cf. Euringer, "Die Anaphora des hl. Jakobus," 4/5 (the Ethiopic text should be consulted, not the German translation); for **sy Jm I** cf. Heimig, "Anaphora Iacobi I," 142/143; for **georg Jm II** cf. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgie Ibericae*, 48/35; **arm Jm** has: "they offer the glorification"; cf. *Cod. Lyons arm* 17, fol. 133<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> I do not include in my survey on the Anaphoras of Basil and James the verbs "to say" "to exclaim" and variants, which lead up to the Sanctus. Only **georg Jm I** does not offer any praise-verb in connection with the worship of the angels; **arm Jm** has: "they offer the glorification"; cf. *Cod. Lyons arm* 17, fol. 133<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> With the exception of **arm Jm** cf. *Cod. Lyons arm* 17, fol. 133<sup>r</sup>; Catergian – Dashian, 440: Seraphim – Cherubim!

<sup>84</sup> For **sy Jm II** cf. crit. ed. of Raes, "Anaphora Iacobi II," 194/195.

<sup>85</sup> For **sy Bas** cf. Rahmani, 176; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 441, 443, 445.

<sup>86</sup> For **sy Jm II** cf. crit. ed. of Raes, "Anaphora Iacobi II," 207; Winkler, "Über das christliche Erbe Henochs."

<sup>87</sup> For these two Syrian Anaphoras cf. crit. ed. of W. de Vries, "Anaphora syriaca Dioscori Alexandrini Prima," in: *Anaphorae Syriacae* I/3 (Rome 1944), 276/277; *idem*, "Anaphora syriaca Dioscori Alexandrini Secunda," 308/309; Winkler, "Beobachtungen zu den im



Moreover, in several *Ethiopian Anaphoras* God is "sanctified" by the *Seraphim*:

- (1) first and foremost in the Anaphora of the Apostles (**eth Ap-An**):<sup>88</sup>  
 "and ... they sanctify you" (ይቅድሱ:);  
 the verb "sanctify" clearly refers here to the description of the *Seraphim* according to Is 6:2 (without mentioning verbatim the *Seraphim*);<sup>89</sup>
- (2) in the Ethiopian Anaphora of John (**eth John**):<sup>90</sup>  
 "... which sanctify you" (ይቅድሱክ:);
- (3) in the Ethiopian Anaphora of Gregory (**eth Greg**),  
 here associated with the *praise of the people*:<sup>91</sup>  
 "and we sanctify you" (ወንቅድሱክ:).

This explicit connection between the *Seraphim* and how they "sanctify" God (borrowed from the "hagios" of Is 6:3), and the obviously secondary usage of this verb in connection with the praise by the *people* in an Ethiopian Anaphora, is of considerable importance for it suggests that the people *imitate* the angels in their worship of God: they "sanctify" God (e.g. in **eth Greg**), or more frequently: they "praise" (εὐλογεῖν) God according to the vision of Ez 3:12, often substituting εὐλογεῖν with δοξάζειν in Syrian and Armenian liturgical texts.

In the Anaphora of James the original vocabulary associated with the angels, more precisely with the Cherubim and Seraphim, is δοξάζειν (or "sanctify," as in **syr Jm II**) *without* the προσκυνεῖν, which is present in the Anaphora of the Apostles (**syr Ap-An**) of Addai and Mari, and in all versions of **Bas**.<sup>92</sup>

There seemingly exists a very old layer of the "Liturgy of the Angels in Heaven" which later on became expanded.<sup>93</sup> The highest ranks of the angels are the *pair* of the Cherubim and the Seraphim, referred to with good reason in that order, for according to Ez 3:12 (the Ḥayyot = the

ante Sanctus angeführten Engeln," 213-238, here: 215, 218-223; *eadem*, *Basilii-Anaphora*, 431-439, 441-451, 454-463.

<sup>88</sup> For the Ante Sanctus in **eth Ap-An** cf. *Mäṣḥafä qəddasē* [= *textus receptus*], 58-59 (nr. 29); the model was here seemingly the Qedusha of Enoch 61:9: "and they sanctify (ወንቅድሱ:) the name of the Lord ..."; cf. Winkler, "Über das christliche Erbe Henochs" [context of notes, 85-86, 93].

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Winkler, "Über das christliche Erbe Henochs" [context of note 93].

<sup>90</sup> For **eth John** cf. *Mäṣḥafä qəddasē*, 92 (nr. 16); Winkler, "Über das christliche Erbe Henochs" [context of note 102, and before note 103].

<sup>91</sup> For **eth Greg** cf. *Mäṣḥafä qəddasē*, 247 (nr. 3); Winkler, "Über das christliche Erbe Henochs" [text with note 96].

<sup>92</sup> For the λατρευεῖν in **byz Bas** (*Cod. Barb.* 336), substituting προσκυνεῖν with λατρευεῖν, cf. Winkler, *Basilii-Anaphora*, 443, 445.

<sup>93</sup> For the evolution of the "Heavenly Liturgy" cf. Winkler, *Basilii-Anaphora*, 279-451; for the function of the angels cf. 452-516; summary concerning **Bas**, 508-516.

Cherubim) "*praise*" (εὐλογεῖν) God, leading up to the exclamation of the thrice "Holy" (Is 6:3) by the Seraphim in the Anaphoras.

The core of this "Heavenly Liturgy," centered around the pair of the Cherubim and Seraphim and attested for the first time in the Anaphora of the Apostles (**syr Ap-An**) of Addai and Mari, is mirrored in the verbs used in association with this "Liturgy in Heaven": the Cherubim and Seraphim "*praise*" (εὐλογεῖν) or "*glorify*" (δοξάζειν) God, as is said in **syr Ap-An** of Addai and Mari (here: δοξάζειν) and **arm Bas I + II** (here: εὐλογεῖν), our oldest witness of **Bas** in this context. A single verb, δοξάζειν, is also found in most of the versions of **Jm** (**gr Jm**, **eth Jm**, **syr Jm I**, **georg Jm II**). Or it is said that they "*sanctify*" God in reminiscence of the *hagios* of the Seraphim as in **syr Jm II**. This central worship of the highest ranks of angels, the Cherubim and Seraphim, with the explicit clarification in **syr Diosc I + II**, where the verb εὐλογεῖν is associated with the Cherubim, and the verb "*sanctify*" with the Seraphim, has found its counterpart in the Ethiopian Anaphora of the Apostles (**eth Ap-An**), where the single verb "*sanctify*," repeated several times, clearly refers to the Seraphim. So much for the praise of God by the Cherubim and Seraphim.

Several Anaphoras distinguish the lower ranks of angels from these highest categories of angels before the Throne of God: in **Bas** again referred to in *pairs*,<sup>94</sup> beginning with the ἄγγελοι and ἀρχάγγελοι (etc.). These various pairs of angels "*worship*" God by "*prostrating themselves*" (προσκυνεῖν) before him. The verb προσκυνεῖν is also attested in **syr Ap-An** of Addai and Mari, here as well for the lower ranks of angels distinct from the Cherubim and Seraphim. Only **syr Bas** uses with each category of angels a separate verb, obviously a secondary development.<sup>95</sup>

This worship of God by the angels is *imitated* by the people as is demonstrated by the fact that the very same verbs are used: they "*praise*" (εὐλογεῖν) God as do the Cherubim,<sup>96</sup> or εὐλογεῖν is substituted with δοξάζειν. This is most clearly reflected in **arm Bas I** and in **syr Ap-An**, which restrict the praise of God by the faithful to the *glorification* of God, in **syr Ap-An** of Addai and Mari with the noun δόξα, in **arm Bas I**: δοξάζειν.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>94</sup> In **Bas** clearly forming pairs, not triads; for the angels in **Bas**, in the East-Syrian and Ethiopian traditions, and other sources cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 452-516.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Rahmani, 176; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 441, 443.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Ez 3:12: "Praised (εὐλογημένη) be the glory of God ..." ("Benedicta (!) gloria Domini ..."). This explains the missing "Benedictus" after the Sanctus in **syr Ap-An** of Addai and Mari + **arm Bas I**; cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 535-547.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 431-439.

Furthermore, these Anaphoras give us to understand clearly that the movement does not go *toward* the Sanctus, but that it emanates from the Throne of God where the Qedusha of the Cherubim and Seraphim takes place. *From the Sanctus* emerges what is said in the sections before the Sanctus, suggesting thereby *the pristine presence* of the Sanctus.<sup>98</sup>

The exclamation of the "Holy!," the Sanctus, stands so to speak at the epicentre, and from the epicentre the "Thrice-Holy" moves outward: the *Cherubim* "praise (εὐλογεῖν)" God according to the vision of Ez 3:12, combined with the exclamation of the thrice "Holy!" by the *Seraphim* according to Is 6:3.<sup>99</sup>

Further away from the epicentre, reserved exclusively to the Cherubim and Seraphim, stand the other *pairs* of angels:<sup>100</sup> in **Bas** the "Angels and Archangels" including the other pairs of angels: all these angels "prostrate themselves" (προσκυνεῖν) before God.

Still further removed from these various ranks of angels stand all human beings: influenced by *what the Cherubim do*, namely singing the "praise" (εὐλογεῖν) of God, they also "praise" or "glorify" (εὐλογεῖν / δοξάζειν) God. Our oldest witness to **Bas**, **arm Bas I**, provides just one single verb, namely δοξάζειν.

The verbs εὐλογεῖν – δοξάζειν have a certain preeminence. These two verbs are synonyms in the Anaphora of Basil; and in many Syriac liturgical texts εὐλογεῖν became substituted by δοξάζειν, as seems to be the case in Addai and Mari.<sup>101</sup> Thus εὐλογεῖν – δοξάζειν form a certain unity and are synonyms at least in the Anaphora of Basil, whereas in the the Anaphora of James these two verbs are separately mentioned in the context of the worship of God *by the faithful* (here mostly in the secondary sequence: δοξάζειν and εὐλογεῖν), in contrast to praise of God *by the angels*, where just δοξάζειν is present in nearly all the versions of the Anaphora of James! Note in addition that the Armenian version of Basil also knows just δοξάζειν, here, however in the context of the praise *by the faithful*.

<sup>98</sup> The original presence of the Sanctus was first suggested by B. Spinks, who had rightly questioned the significance of the "birkat ha-mazon" as being allegedly central for the origins of the Eucharistic Prayer: "Where the *birkat ha-mazon* is regarded *a priori* as the basic nucleus, it must follow that the Sanctus is a secondary addition to an archetypal structure"; cf. B.D. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge 1991), 108, see also p. 104; see, moreover, Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 283 with n. 9, 440, 449.

<sup>99</sup> For the intimate relationship between εὐλογεῖν and δοξάζειν cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 425-439.

<sup>100</sup> They form *pairs* not *triads* as was hitherto thought; cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 452-516, in particular, 490-512.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 414-417, 431-434.

We still have to explain the presence of the following verbs associated with the praise of God by the faithful:

- (1) the secondary verbs of praise αἰνεῖν and ὑμνεῖν in **Bas + Jm** (still missing in: **arm Bas I**, **eth Jm**, **syr Jm II!**),
- (2) the interpolation of εὐχαριστεῖν in **Bas**, followed by **Jm** (still missing in: **syr Ap-An**, **arm Bas I!**).

The verbs αἰνεῖν and ὑμνεῖν belong together, forming a pair. The verb-pair αἰνεῖν - ὑμνεῖν seemingly does not form part of the original texts of the Anaphoras of Basil and James in connection with the praise of God by the people, in contrast to the *Egyptian* tradition (cf. Serapion, Mark, Gregory).

It is highly significant that these two verbs are still missing in **arm Bas I**, in **eth Jm**, and in **syr Jm II**. Moreover, αἰνεῖν and ὑμνεῖν are absent in the context of the praise-verbs of all the *Ethiopian Anaphoras*, just as they are also missing in the context of the *Qedusha of Enoch*, nor do they occur in the context of the praise-verbs present in the *Syriac and Ethiopic versions of the Testamentum Domini*.<sup>102</sup>

It can be assumed that originally there was no εὐχαριστεῖν for angels do not "thank" God but "worship" or "glorify" / "praise" him; the verb εὐχαριστεῖν became interpolated only later through the influence of the Institution Narrative.<sup>103</sup>

Finally, we have to address the missing praise of God by the community in *Egyptian* Basil, and the substitution of the original εὐλογεῖν (or δοξάζειν) by the interpolation of ὑμνεῖν in the context of the praise by the angels.

(1) The praise of God *by the people* is entirely missing in the *Egyptian* version of the Anaphora of Basil, in contrast to its presence in all the other versions of **Bas** and in all the redactions of **Jm**. Let us remember that **arm Bas I** probably presents the oldest shape of the praise of the community by indicating just one verb (δοξάζειν), which can be compared to the praise by the angels in **Jm**: the various versions of **Jm** provide only the verb δοξάζειν.

It seems that the *Egyptian* version abbreviated the original text by dropping the praise of the community, namely the δοξάζειν (= εὐλογεῖν) attested in the Armenian version (**arm Bas I**). The originally very short praise of the faithful once consisted of just one verb, either δοξάζειν or

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Winkler, "Über das christliche Erbe Henochs."

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 440, 448, also: 442-445, 448-449 (= the praise-verbs before the Sanctus), 753-774 (= the praise-verbs before the Epiclesis), 877-879; *eadem*, "Fragen zur zeitlichen Priorität," 260-267; *eadem*, "Unsolved Problems."

εὐλογεῖν as in **arm Bas I**, which the other long versions increased by adding further praise-verbs, while the Egyptian text went the opposite way, dropping altogether the praise of the people before the Sanctus, thereby reducing the praise of God to the worship of the angels in the ante Sanctus.<sup>104</sup>

There are internal and external reasons to corroborate the hypothesis that Egyptian Basil abbreviated the text by deliberately dropping any reference to the praise of the community.<sup>105</sup> Besides the external evidence that points in this direction, we have further corroboration by comparing the praise of God before the Sanctus and before the Epiclesis, the latter clearly patterned after the praise before the Sanctus.<sup>106</sup> Now, in its praise before the Epiclesis Egyptian Basil follows the normal pattern of the other versions of **Bas**,<sup>107</sup> this praise is missing only before the Sanctus.

(2) We have seen that the praise of *the lower ranks of angels* is associated with the verb προσκυνεῖν in all the versions of the Anaphora of Basil. Yet in combination with the highest angelic ranks, the Cherubim and Seraphim, Egyptian Basil substituted the original εὐλογεῖν (or δοξάζειν) with the secondary interpolation of ὑμνεῖν.<sup>108</sup>

This is all the more intriguing since Egyptian Basil does *not* refer to the Sanctus as the ἐπινίκιος ὕμνος of the Cherubim and Seraphim. With regard to this interpretation of the Sanctus as the "victorious chant" (ἐπινίκιος ὕμνος) of the Cherubim and Seraphim, it is interesting to note that those versions that represent the early tradition of **Bas** (in this case: **eg Bas**, **arm Bas II**, the Armenian fragment **A** [= **W<sub>1</sub>**] which pertains to the tradition of **arm Bas I**) or **Jm** (again **syr Jm II**, but also **arm Jm**), do not claim that the Sanctus is the ἐπινίκιος ὕμνος of the Cherubim and Seraphim.<sup>109</sup> Hence the presence of the verb ὑμνεῖν in the Egyptian version of Basil only, seems to be secondary.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 442-445, 448-449 (= the praise-verbs before the Sanctus), 753-774 (= the praise-verbs before the Epiclesis), 877-879.

<sup>107</sup> For a detailed analysis cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 753-774, 877-879.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 442, 444, 446, 877-879.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 515, 517-525; for the evidence in the *Apostolic Constitutions* cf. 519-521.

### III. *The Central Verbs of the Epiclesis and Institution Narrative in Bas and Jm*

We begin our investigation with the pertinent verbs in the Epiclesis, for the verbs used in the introduction to the words over the bread and the chalice of the Institution Narrative became influenced by the Epiclesis vocabulary. This is clearly the case with the Anaphora of Basil, where the verbs used in the context of the Epiclesis have priority over those of the Institution Narrative.

Moreover, the Armenian version(s) had, with regard to the praise-verbs in the Oratio ante Sanctus, preeminence over the other versions of **Bas** like, for example, over **eg Bas** or **byz Bas**. Now **arm Bas I** is no longer leading the way since it shows considerable manipulation in connection with the Epiclesis, where **arm Bas I** abandoned the genuine tradition of **Bas** by following the older Syrian tradition of the Anaphora of James (cf. **sy Jm II**). This is the case with the Institution Narrative as well, where **arm Bas I** and **II** have purged the "mixed" chalice from their texts.

#### 1. The Epiclesis

In connection with this limited overview of the various redactions of **Bas** and **Jm**, we must refer to several pioneering studies by S. P. Brock on the Syrian tradition, to the excellent contribution of B. D. Spinks concerning the Greek and Syriac Epiclesis of the Anaphora of James, and to the investigation of the various versions of **Bas** by G. Winkler.<sup>110</sup>

The Epiclesis of **Bas**, introduced by the petition "we implore [δεόμεθα] you,"<sup>111</sup> consists of several building-blocks: 1. The petition for the invocation; 2. the verbs of sanctification and consecration; and 3. the fruits of the Epiclesis (we shall not deal with the fruits in this contribution). These building blocks seemingly derive from different regional traditions; not all of them belong to the genuine tradition of the Anaphora of Basil.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Cf. S.P. Brock, "The Epiclesis in the Antiochene Baptismal Ordines," in: *Symposium Syriacum 1972* (OCA 197, Rome 1974), 183-218; *idem*, "Invocations," 377-406; *idem*, "Typology," 173-192; Spinks, "Epiclesis," 19-38; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 775-830 (= Epiclesis), 699-700 (= Institution Narrative); *eadem*, "The Epiclesis and Institution Narrative of the Anaphora of Basil: Their Evolution and Theological Meaning" (as n. 3 above).

<sup>111</sup> For this petition, which introduces the Epiclesis cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 753-757, 775, 791-792.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 775, 793-794.

Here is an overview of the pertinent verbs of the Epiclesis in the various redactions of **Bas**:<sup>113</sup>

- (1) Petition: "come" (ἐλθεῖν): **sah Bas**, **eg gr Bas**, **boh Bas** (not **eth Bas**), **arm Bas II** (not **arm Bas I**), **byz Bas**  
 "send" (pertaining *not* to **Bas** but to **Jm**!):  
**arm Bas I**, **eth Bas** (for both cf. **syr Jm II**)<sup>114</sup>
- (2) *The verbs of Sanctification*:  
 (a) "sanctify" + ἀναδεῖξαι (= typical of **eg Bas**): **sah Bas**, **eg gr Bas**, **boh Bas** (the latter with secondary "change")  
 (b) "bless + sanctify" (= normative for the Syrian tradition):  
**byz Bas** (+ ἀναδεῖξαι)  
**arm Bas II** (+ ἀναδεῖξαι)
- (3) The Consecratory verb "make" (ποιῆσαι):  
 still missing in: **sah Bas** + **byz Bas**!  
 present in: **eg gr Bas**, **boh Bas** (not **sah Bas**!)  
**arm Bas I**, **arm Bas II** (not **byz Bas**!)
- (4) Combination of "sanctify" + "make" (pertaining *not* to **Bas** but to **Jm**!):  
**syr Bas**, **eth Bas**.<sup>115</sup>

The old and genuine layer of **Bas** consists of the petition for the invocation of the Holy Spirit "to come," combined with the verbs of Sanctification. The verb of Consecration ("to make") was interpolated later on through outside influence. Here is a structural overview of the Epiclesis:

1. the *petition* for the invocation of the Holy Spirit  
 "to come" [ἐλθεῖν]<sup>116</sup> upon the people and upon the gifts of bread and wine (in that order!)
2. the *reason* why the Holy Spirit should come:  
 (a) the verbs of *Sanctification*:  
 εὐλογῆσαι – ἀγιάσαι – ἀναδεῖξαι (in varying combinations):<sup>117</sup>  
**eg gr Bas**: ἀγιάσαι – ἀναδεῖξαι (= typical of Egypt<sup>118</sup>);

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 788-789; see moreover the texts of **sah Bas**, **boh Bas**, **eg gr Bas**, **arm Bas I** + **II**, **byz Bas**, 776-787 (**syr Bas**, still awaiting closer examination, was partially included in the analysis, although we still have to rely on the ed. of Rahmani).

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 801, 818-822.

<sup>115</sup> The Syrac version (**syr Bas**) has according to the edition of Rahmani, 182, the combination of *sanctificet* + *faciat* like **gr Jak** (Mercier, 206/207); cf. Brock, "Typology," 185; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 800 with n. 50, 801, 818-822.

<sup>116</sup> Two versions, **arm Bas I** + **eth Bas**, deviate from the genuine tradition of **Bas** with the imperative: "send!"; cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 818-822.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 788-789.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 778, 794-799.

**byz Bas + arm Bas II:** εὐλογῆσαι – ἀγιάσαι (= typical of the Syriac tradition<sup>119</sup>), to this pair of verbs ἀναδεῖξαι was added.

The term ἀναδεῖξαι has to be analysed in connection with its context:<sup>120</sup>  
 (1) it is imbedded in the verb(s) of *Sanctification*;  
 (2) it is connected with ἅγια ἀγίων in the oldest text of the Anaphora of Basil:<sup>121</sup>

**eg gr Bas** has: καὶ ἀγιάσαι καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι ἅγια ἀγίων

(= original place of ἅγια ἀγίων);

in **byz Bas + arm Bas II** the ἅγια ἀγίων is *not* combined with ἀναδεῖξαι, but is used as an address at the beginning of the Epiclesis:

καὶ σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἅγιε (!) ἀγίων ...

(b) the secondary interpolation of the *verb of Consecration*:  
 “to make” (in the grammatical form of ποιήση)<sup>122</sup>

This *verb of consecration* (ποιήση) is still missing in:

**sah Bas** (= here oldest form of **eg Bas**)

**byz Bas** (= here oldest form of the longer redactions of **Bas**).

The older part of the Epiclesis in **Bas** may once have been addressed to the Son,<sup>123</sup> as is the case in *Sharrar* [= **sy Pet III**] and seemingly in **sy Ap-An** of Addai and Mari as well.<sup>124</sup> The later stage of **Bas**, marked by the interpolation of the verb of Consecration “to make” (in the grammatical form of ποιήση), deriving very likely from Jerusalem,<sup>125</sup> is addressed to the Father.<sup>126</sup>

Already Brock had noted that the verbs of Sanctification (“bless + sanctify”) are shared by the Epiclesis of **Bas** and the Syrian tradition:<sup>127</sup>

The combination appears to be a Syriac characteristic for it is also found in the Institution Narrative of Syriac James (but not [**gr Jm**]), XII Apostles (but not [**byz Chrys**]), and a large number of West-Syrian anaphoras ... This pattern of attestation for the pair ‘bless and sanctify’ brings out once again the links between **Bas** and the Syriac milieu.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Brock “Invocations,” 377-406; here: 390-391; *idem*, “Typology,” 173-192 (both as n. 110 above); Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 788, 799-801, 803.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 794-796.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 788-789.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 822-826.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*; Brock, “Typology,” 178; Spinks, “Epiclesis,” 25-27.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 779 note 6, 789, 805-807.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 822-826.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Brock “Invocations,” 390-391.



Behind the first and older part of the Epiclesis of **Bas** there lies, apparently, a common tradition shared by the Anaphora of Basil and the East-Syrian Anaphora of the Apostles (**syr Ap-An**) of Addai and Mari, plus the Anaphora of Nestorius (**syr Nest**). They seemingly go back to a common root consisting of:

the invitatory verb ἐλθεῖν ("to come")

combined with the verb-pair of Sanctification: "bless – sanctify."<sup>128</sup>

The verbs of the Epiclesis in the East-Syrian Anaphoras and *Sharrar* [= **syr Pet III**] comprise:

1. the verb "to come,"  
to which later one or two other verbs ("to rest" / "to dwell") were added;
2. the verb-pair of Sanctification: "bless – sanctify"  
(still absent in *Sharrar* [= **syr Pet III**])<sup>129</sup>
3. the verb of Consecration: "to make," present in the Anaphora of Nestorius<sup>130</sup>  
yet still absent in:  
— Addai and Mari (since there is no Institution Narrative)<sup>131</sup>  
— *Sharrar* (= **syr Pet III**).<sup>132</sup>

Here is an overview of the verbs in the Epiclesis of the Anaphora of Basil in comparison with East-Syrian Anaphora (**syr Ap-An**) of Addai and Mari, the Maronite Anaphora *Sharrar* (= **syr Pet III**), and the East-Syrian Anaphora of Nestorius (**syr Nest**):<sup>133</sup>

Addai and Mari	<i>Sharrar</i> ( <b>syr Pet III</b> )	<b>syr Nest</b>	Anaphora of Basil
<b>I. Invitatory Petition:</b>			
... and <b>may</b> your	... and <b>may</b> your	... and <b>may</b>	

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 799-801, 812-813.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. J.-M. Sauget, "Anaphora syriaca sancti Petri Apostoli III," in: *Anaphorae Syriacae* II/3 (Rome 1973), 273-323, here: 308/309; Brock, "Invocations," 390-391, 401-402; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 802, 812-813.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. S. Naduthadam, *L'Anaphore de Mar Nestorius. Edition critique et étude* (Diss. Institut Catholique, Paris 1992), 224/269; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 812-813.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. W. F. Macomber, "The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari," OCP 37 (1966), 335-371, here: 368/369; A. Gelston, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* (Oxford 1992), 54/55; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 812.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Sauget, "Anaphora syriaca sancti Petri Apostoli III," 308/309 (as n. 129 above); Brock, "Invocations," 390-391, 401-402; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 802, 812-813.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Brock, "Invocations," 390-391, 401-402; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 799-804, 814-815.

Holy Spirit <b>come</b> , Lord,	living and holy Spirit <b>come</b> and reside and be rested upon this offering ...	the grace of the Spirit of Holiness <b>come</b> and reside and be rested upon this offering ...	ἐλθεῖν ("to come")  —
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## II. The Verb-Pair of Sanctification:

... and <b>bless it</b>	—	and <b>bless it</b>	<b>bless</b> (εὐλογῆσαι)
and <b>sanctify it</b>	—	and <b>sanctify it</b>	<b>and sanctify</b> (ἀγιάσαι)
			(+ ἀναδεῖξαι = = <b>byz Bas</b> ) <sup>134</sup>

## III. The Consecratory Verb: —

—	and <b>make it ...</b>	<i>still missing in:</i> <b>sah Bas + byz Bas</b> <sup>135</sup>
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The overview shows the remarkable congruency between the invitatory verb ἐλθεῖν ("to come") *combined with the verb-pair of Sanctification*: εὐλογῆσαι – ἀγιάσαι ("bless – sanctify") and the *Consecratory verb* "to make" still missing in several Syrian Anaphoras and the oldest form of the Anaphora of Basil (here: **sah Bas + byz Bas**).<sup>136</sup> Both traditions have in common the following verbs, albeit in different grammatical forms:

ἐλθεῖν *combined with*: εὐλογῆσαι – ἀγιάσαι ("bless – sanctify");  
absence of the verb "to make" in *Sharrar* [**syr Pet III**], **sah Bas + byz Bas**.

With the evolution of the Epiclesis both traditions then go different ways:

- the *Syriac tradition* expands the invitatory verb "to come," by adding one or two additional verbs ("to reside" / "to dwell");
- the *Anaphora of Basil* expands the verbs of Sanctification with one or two verbs:  
the verb-pair "bless – sanctify," deriving from the Syrian tradition, plus ἀναδεῖξαι typical of the Egyptian tradition.

We have to come back once more to the meaning of ἀναδεῖξαι ἅγια ἁγίων in **eg gr Bas**.<sup>137</sup> Here we must point out again

<sup>134</sup> The Armenian version (**arm Bas II**) has 2 additional verbs, in contrast to **byz Bas** [cf. *Cod. Sevestianov* 474; ed. S. J. Koster, *Das Euchologion Sevestianov 474 (X. Jhdt.) der Staatsbibliothek in Moskau (Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum, Pont. Institutum Orient. Stud., Sectio Liturgica, Rome 1996)*] with only one additional verb; for the analysis cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 786, 788, 798 (= **byz Bas**), 783, 788, 798-799 (= **arm Bas II**).

<sup>135</sup> In the oldest witnesses (here **sah Bas + byz Bas**) the verb "to make" in the grammatical form of ποιῆση is still absent; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 789, 798, 814-815.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 814-815.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 794-796.

- (1) that the verb ἀναδεῖξαι forms part of the verb(s) of *Sanctification*:  
καὶ ἁγιάσαι καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι ἅγια ἁγίων;
- (2) that **eg gr Bas** presents the original place of the ἅγια ἁγίων,  
in contrast to **byz Bas + arm Bas II**,  
where the ἅγια ἁγίων is *not* combined with ἀναδεῖξαι,  
but is used as an address at the *beginning* of the Epiclesis:  
καὶ σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἅγιε (!) ἁγίων ...

Remember that originally there existed *no verb of Consecration* (= ποιήση) in the Anaphora of Basil. Originally the Epiclesis was restricted to the invitation to the Holy Spirit "to come" (ἐλθεῖν) *upon both* the people and the gifts of bread and wine (in that order!), so that *both*, the community and the gifts alike might be "sanctified," expressed by the verb-pair of *Sanctification*: εὐλογῆσαι – ἁγιάσαι ("bless – sanctify").

It seems that in Egypt they altered the shape of the Epiclesis in the Anaphora of Basil once they took over this Antiochene Eucharistic Prayer. It was in particular *the concept of Sanctification that they reshaped and sought to clarify* by adding the verb ἀναδεῖξαι (while apparently dropping the verb εὐλογῆσαι) and joining, moreover, the ἅγια ἁγίων to the verb ἀναδεῖξαι (which reminds us immediately of the "Sancta sanctis" before Communion<sup>138</sup>). In the Egyptian Greek text the people and the gifts of bread and wine are to be "sanctified" in such a way that they "show forth" / "make manifest" (ἀναδεῖξαι) this Sanctification: "showing forth / making manifest" the gifts of bread and wine as "holy" for those who have become equally "holy" *by the coming of the Holy Spirit* upon them in order "to sanctify" the gifts and the people alike.

This verb ἀναδεῖξαι surely belonged primarily to the Epiclesis where its function seems to embrace both aspects of the invocation: "showing forth" / "making manifest" (ἀναδεῖξαι) the holiness not only of the gifts of bread and wine, but of the people as well.

This understanding of the Epiclesis would not remain in this pristine ambiguity. The further evolution of the Epiclesis in **Bas** went in two directions, *both of which have to do with the clarification of the concept of "Sanctification."* First, attention became restricted to the gifts, as in **byz Bas**: ... καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι τὸν μεν ἄρτον τοῦτον αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου ... This restriction to the gifts, i.e., that the coming of the Holy Spirit serves as a manifestation for the gifts of bread and wine *as the body and*

<sup>138</sup> For the "Sancta sanctis"-cycle, cf. now Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak* (as n. 2 above); *eadem*, "The Precommunion Rites and the Problem of the Sancta Sanctis in the Various Redactions of the Liturgy of Basil and Other Traditions"; *eadem*, "Overview of the Research Project: The Armenian Liturgy of Sahak (Edition – Translation – Commentary) and its Dependence on the Armenian Version of the Liturgy of Basil."

*blood* of the Lord, is still absent in **sah Bas**: there is no claim that bread (and wine) "should become manifest" (ἀναδειξαι) as the "body" (and "blood") of the Lord.<sup>139</sup>

At the end of the process, the Consecratory verb "to make" the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ is finally interpolated into the Epiclesis of **Bas**, probably via the influence of Jerusalem, where it is first attested in the Mystagogical Catechesis V:7, and is also present in all the versions of **Jm**.

Turning now to the evidence in the various redactions of the Anaphora of James, we find that the matter has become easier to analyse after the detailed investigation of **Bas**. Above all, the important contributions of B. D. Spinks and S. P. Brock have already clarified several problems of the Epiclesis of the Anaphora of James.<sup>140</sup>

A certain parallel concerning the two differing groups of verbs in the Epiclesis of **Bas**, namely (1) the *verbs of Sanctification* + (2) the *Consecratory verb* (ποιήση), which allow a glimpse into the differing layers and background of this Epiclesis, can also be detected in the Epiclesis of James:

(1) the first part of the Epiclesis of **gr Jm**,<sup>141</sup> **syr Jm I + II**,<sup>142</sup> **georg Jm I + II**,<sup>143</sup> **eth Jm**,<sup>144</sup> and **arm Jm**<sup>145</sup> is marked by ἐξαποστέλλω, seemingly the technical term of the genuine Jerusalem tradition, shared also by **gr Mark**;

(2) the second part of the Epiclesis of **gr Jm**,<sup>146</sup> and of **georg Jm I + II**,<sup>147</sup> begins with καταπέμψω, as in the Antiochene hinterland represented

<sup>139</sup> For the details see my *Basilius-Anaphora*, 794-796.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Spinks, "Epiklesis," 19-38; Brock, "Typology," 173-192; *idem*, "Invocations," 377-406; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 800-801, 805-809.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Mercier, 204, 206; analysis in Spinks, "Epiklesis," 29-34; Brock, "Invocations," 391-395; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 793, 800, 805-809.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. ed. of **syr Jm I** by Heimig, "Anaphora Iacobi I," 150/151: "*mitte super nos et super oblationes has propositas Spiritum tuum sanctum*"; and **syr Jm II** by Raes, "Anaphora Iacobi II," 198/199: "*mitte super oblationes ...*"; for **eth Jm** cf. Euringer, "Anaphora des Jakobus," 8/9-10/11.

For **syr Jm I** cf. Heimig, "Anaphora Iacobi I," 150/151; for **syr Jm II** cf. Raes, "Anaphora Iacobi II," 198/199; for **eth Jm** cf. Euringer, "Anaphora des Jakobus," 8/9-10/11.

<sup>143</sup> For **georg Jm I + II** cf. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgiae Ibericae*, 15 (= *textus*) / 11-12 (= *versio*), 50-51/37-38.

<sup>144</sup> For **eth Jm** cf. Euringer, "Anaphora des Jakobus," 8/9-10/11.

<sup>145</sup> For **arm Jm** cf. *Cod. Lyons arm 17*, fol. 134<sup>v</sup>-135<sup>r</sup>; Catergian – Dashian, 442.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Mercier, 204, 206.

<sup>147</sup> For **georg Jm I + II** cf. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgiae Ibericae*, 15 (= *textus*) / 11-12 (= *versio*), 50-51/37-38.

by the *Apostolic Constitutions*; this second part of the Epiclesis is still absent in **syr Jm I + II**, **eth Jm**, and in **arm Jm**!<sup>148</sup>

(3) the Epiclesis culminates in the verbs: (ἵνα) ἐπιφοιτήσαν, ἀγιάσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ in **gr Jm**<sup>149</sup> (cf. **syr Jm I + II**,<sup>150</sup> **georg Jm II**<sup>151</sup>); ἐπιφοιτάω being seemingly of Syrian origin.<sup>152</sup> The Consecratory and central verb ποιήσῃ is present in all versions of **Jm**.

(4) the combination of: "mitte" plus "faciat" is shared by two versions of **Bas** (**arm Bas I**, **eth Bas**) and by **Jm** (**syr Jm I + II**).<sup>153</sup> Moreover, the formulation of the effects and fruits of the invocation are shared between the Egyptian tradition of **Bas** (**eg gr Bas**) and **Jm** (cf. **syr Jm I**), as was indicated in previous studies.<sup>154</sup>

Thus these various building blocks of the Epiclesis in **gr Jm** have differing backgrounds, as is also the case with **Bas**; moreover both share intriguing connections with the Syriac milieu:

**Bas** shares with the Syrian tradition "come" combined with the verbs of Sanctification ("bless + sanctify"). Something similar can be said about ἵνα ἐπιφοιτήσαν of **gr Jm**, probably moored in ܐܕܢ ܡܥܓܝܢ (kad maggen / "while tabernacling"<sup>155</sup>) present in **syr Jm I + II**,<sup>156</sup> and aggen in Theodore of Mopsuestia, as S. P. Brock has pointed out, after Spinks and B. Botte had already referred to this common ground in their articles on the Greek and Syrian Epiclesis of **Jm**.<sup>157</sup>

The verb-pair "bless + sanctify," normative for the Syriac tradition, is also present in the Epiclesis of several Ethiopian Anaphoras,<sup>158</sup> of which S. Brock already noted:<sup>159</sup>

<sup>148</sup> For **syr Jm I** cf. Heiming, "Anaphora Iacobi I," 150/151; for **syr Jm II** cf. Raes, "Anaphora Iacobi II," 198/199; for **eth Jm** cf. Euringer, "Anaphora des Jakobus," 8/9-10/11; for **arm Jm** cf. *Cod. Lyons arm* 17, fol. 134<sup>v</sup>-135<sup>r</sup>; Catergian – Dashian, 442.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Mercier, 204, 206.

<sup>150</sup> For **syr Jm I** cf. Heiming, "Anaphora Iacobi I," 150/151; for **syr Jm II** cf. Raes, "Anaphora Iacobi II," 198/199; in **eth Jm** this part of the Epiclesis is entirely missing; cf. Euringer, "Anaphora des Jakobus," 8/9-10/11.

<sup>151</sup> For **georg Jm II** cf. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgiae Ibericae*, 50-51/37-38.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Spinks, "Epiklesis," 29-34; Brock, "Invocations," 391-395; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 793, 800, 805-809.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 818-822 (see also 797).

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 827-830; Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora*, 411, 429.

<sup>155</sup> This translation was suggested by S.P. Brock.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. ed. of **syr Jm I** by Heiming, "Anaphora Iacobi I," 150/151; and **syr Jm II** by Raes, "Anaphora Iacobi II," 198/199.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Brock, "Invocations," 391-395, 399-400; Spinks, "Epiklesis," 34; [B. Botte, "L'épiclese dans les liturgies syriennes orientales," *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954), 48-72].

<sup>158</sup> Cf. **eth Cyr + eth Chrys**, moreover: **eth John**, **eth An-300**, **eth Mary**; for these Anaphoras cf. Brock "Invocation," 381; and Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 803-804.

... though no exact Syriac counterparts to these particular Ethiopic anaphoras exist, the phraseology of their epicleses is nevertheless distinctly Syriac in flavour in other respects as well.

Two Ethiopian Anaphoras are especially noteworthy, for with the verb-combination of “come” – “*bless and sanctify*” they show considerable parallels with the verbs used in the above-cited East-Syrian Anaphora (**syr Ap-An**) of Addai and Mari, the Maronite Anaphora *Sharrar* (= **syr Pet III**), and the East-Syrian Anaphora of Nestorius (**syr Nest**).<sup>160</sup>

**eth Cyr**:<sup>161</sup>

Let your ... Holy Spirit descend,  
come and rest upon this bread and cup,  
bless and sanctify (ܥܠܚ: ܡܥܦܕܝܢ) them ...

**eth Chrys**:<sup>162</sup>

May he [the Holy Spirit] come from above the highest heaven of heavens  
and bless (ܥܠܚ:) this bread  
and sanctify (ܡܥܦܕܝܢ) this cup ...

The combination of “come” with “bless – sanctify” in the Epiclesis of **byz Bas** + **arm Bas II**, **eth Chrys** + **eth Cyr** shows striking parallels with the East-Syrian tradition, that are unknown in other Greek invocations such as **Jm**, **Chrys**, or **gr Mark**:<sup>163</sup>

**gr Jm** has the verb-combination: ἀγιάσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ  
(in **syr Jm I** + **II** the verb ἀγιάσαι is missing!);<sup>164</sup>

**gr Mark** has: ἀγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ ... καὶ ποιήσῃ;<sup>165</sup>

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Brock, “Invocation,” 381; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 803-804.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 803-804, 810-815; Brock, “Invocation,” 381, 390-391, 401-402.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. *Mäṣṣḥafä qäddase bā-gəzannā bā-’ammārannā* (Addis Abeba 1958/59), 222 (70); O. Löfgren – S. Euringer, “Die beiden aethiopischen Anaphoren «des heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien». Herausgegeben von O. Löfgren. Mit Übersetzung und Bemerkungen von S. Euringer,” *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 8 (1932), 210-234 (= *textus*); 9 (1933-34), 44-86 (= *versio*), here: 228/66 (27).

<sup>162</sup> Cf. *Mäṣṣḥafä qäddase*, 211 [nr. 72]; Maija Priess, *Die äthiopische Chrysostomos-Anaphora* (*Äthiopistische Forschungen* 68, Wiesbaden 2006), 160/161. For this study see my review in OC 91 (2007), 260-268.

<sup>163</sup> These Anaphoras were mentioned by Brock (“Typology,” 185) in connection with the verb *qaddeš* / “sanctify”; see also Brock, “Innovations,” 390-391; **byz Chrys**, however, has to be excluded; cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 800.

<sup>164</sup> Surprisingly **gr Jm** (not **syr Jm**!) is comparable to the Syrian tradition! For the Epiclesis of **gr Jm** cf. Mercier, 206; for **syr Jm I** cf. Heimig, “Anaphora Iacobi I,” 150/ 151: here ἀγιάσαι is missing! only *faciat* is attested; likewise **syr Jm II**; cf. Raes, “Anaphora Iacobi II,” 198/199. Cf. Brock, “Typology,” 185.

**byz Chrys** has according to the *Codex gr. Barberini 336* no ἀγίαση, only καὶ ποιήσον (with μεταβαλῶν), likewise the *textus receptus*, which has the verb-pair εὐλόγησον ... καὶ ποιήσον.<sup>166</sup>

The verb-pair “*bless and sanctify*,” which belongs foremost to the Epi-  
clesis of the East-Syrian Anaphoras and of **Bas**, was then introduced into  
the Institution Narrative of **Bas** as well as **Jm**. Something similar has to  
be said about the verb ἀναδείκνυμι, which pertains primarily to the Epi-  
clesis of **Bas**, moving then also to the Institution Narrative of **Bas** and  
**Jm**.

## 2. The Institution Narrative

For a presentation and analysis of the Institution Narrative of the  
various redactions of **Bas** I refer to my study of the Anaphora of Basil,  
where I made some use of the evidence in the Anaphora of James as  
well.<sup>167</sup>

The opening of Institution Narrative in **Bas** (+ **Jm**) is formulated on  
the basis of borrowings from Jn 6:51<sup>168</sup> and / or 1 Cor 11:23<sup>169</sup>. Before we  
move on to the introductory verbs in connection with the words over the  
bread and the cup, we must recall that the Gospel of Mark is the oldest  
Gospel, and that the Gospel of Mathews has kept several Aramaic traits.  
Now both these Gospel-texts make a clear distinction between the verb  
for the bread and for the wine (Mk 14:22-23; Mt 26:26-27):

- the bread is *blessed* (εὐλογήσας) [plus ἔκλασεν / “he broke”]
- for the wine, *thanks is given* (εὐχαριστήσας [so also syr Mt 26:26-27]).

In John 6:11, however, the *Greek* text says: Jesus took the bread “and  
*gave thanks* (καὶ εὐχαριστήσας),” whereas the *Syriac* text in both **Vet Syr** +  
**Pesh** still has: “and *blessed* it.” The same is true for 1 Cor 11:24, the

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Brock, “Typology,” 185.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Parenti – Velkovska, 78; *Hieratikon* (Rome 1950), 134; Brock, “Invocations,” 400 [CHR (H-P, 226)]; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 800.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 693-721.

<sup>168</sup> Jn 6:51: ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς. Also **gr Jm**, cf. Mercier, 202. Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 698.

<sup>169</sup> 1 Cor 11:23: ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδοτο. Also **gr Jm**, cf. Mercier, 202. Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 698.

Greek version has: "he took the bread and gave thanks (εὐχαριστήσας); **Pesh**, however, says: "and blessed it."<sup>170</sup>

(1) This shows that the Syriac tradition made a clear distinction between the "blessing" of the bread, while "giving thanks" for the wine.<sup>171</sup> Moreover, the Syrians preserved this distinction in their Anaphoras as the Maronite *Sharrar* (= **syr Pet III**) and the East-Syrian Anaphora of Theodore (**syr TheoMop**) demonstrate: the verb "he blessed" is used for the bread, and "he gave thanks" for the wine.<sup>172</sup> Also the oldest witness of the Anaphora of Basil seemingly had the bread blessed, *not given thanks* for: the verb εὐχαριστήσας is still missing in **sah Bas**.<sup>173</sup>

(2) Indicative as well is the position of the verb εὐχαριστήσας, which in **Bas** varies once it is present: the norm is εὐχαριστήσας – εὐλογήσας (in that order), with **arm Bas I** being the exception: in **arm Bas I** we observe an inversion of these verbs: "he blessed – he thanked."<sup>174</sup> Given that in the oldest witness of the Anaphora of Basil εὐχαριστήσας is still missing in connection with the bread-words, and that (2) once the verb is attested, it is interpolated before (= the norm) or after εὐλογήσας (= rare), it is quite likely that the *Urtext* had no εὐχαριστήσας in connection with the introduction to the Bread-Words.

(3) The verb-pair: εὐλογήσας – ἀγιάσας (persistently in that order) belongs *primarily* to the Epiclesis, and via the influence of the Epiclesis it became introduced to the Institution Narrative as well.

In this connection the Institution Narrative in **arm Bas I** is of greatest interest, for **arm Bas I** has only "he blessed," to which the secondary verb "he thanked" was added, but the verb "he sanctified (ἀγιάσας)" is still missing! This allows the hypothetical conclusion that the *primary* verb in the Institution Narrative, attested in *all* versions of the Anaphora of Basil in connection with the bread, is "he blessed (εὐλογήσας)," not the verb-pair: εὐλογήσας – ἀγιάσας, which was taken over from the Epiclesis in the other versions of **Bas**.

The evident conclusion that the *primary* verb in connection with the bread in the Anaphora of Basil is "he blessed (εὐλογήσας)," corresponds to the early Syriac tradition where the verb associated with the bread is exclusively "he blessed," and not "he thanked," as for example in **syr Pet III** (= *Sharrar*) or **syr TheoMop**.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 702-703.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Sauget, "Anaphora syriaca sancti Petri Apostoli III," 300/301 (as n. 129 above); Winkler, *Die Basilius-Anaphora*, 703-704.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 702-706, 719-721.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 700.



(4) Moreover, the verb ἀναδείκνυμι, which belongs primarily to the Epiclesis, was subsequently included in the Institution Narrative too. More precisely: *this verb is still missing in **eg Bas***, in contrast to **arm Bas I + II** and **byz Bas**, where ἀναδείκνυμι opens the introductory verbs over the bread.

For an overview of the verbs used at the introduction of the words over the bread and cup of the Institution Narrative in the various versions of **Bas** and **Jm**, I refer to my study.<sup>175</sup>

Since the verb-pair "*bless – sanctify*" is normative for the Syriac *Epiclesis*,<sup>176</sup> as well as being characteristic of the *Epiclesis* of **Bas** (cf. **byz Bas** + **arm Bas II**),<sup>177</sup> it follows that the presence of this verb-pair at the Institution Narrative of **Bas** is secondary. Now if this verb-pair is also present at the Institution Narrative of **Jm**, though absent at its *Epiclesis*, then its presence in **Jm** must be dependent either on **Bas** or on the Syriac tradition.

This verb-pair "*bless – sanctify*" is attested at the Institution Narrative in **Bas** in connection with the *bread* (**eg Bas**, **arm Bas II**, **byz Bas**), and with the *cup* (**eg Bas**, **byz Bas**). The verb ἀναδείκνυμι, belonging primarily to the *Epiclesis* of the Egyptian tradition of **Bas**, is placed exclusively at the beginning of the words over the bread at the Institution Narrative in **arm Bas I + II** and **byz Bas**.

All the versions of **Jm** contain the verb-pair "*bless – sanctify*" (not at its *Epiclesis* but) *at the Institution Narrative*, often combined with ἀναδείκνυμι, which strongly suggests borrowings from **Bas**.<sup>178</sup> Another secondary trait manifests itself when this verb-pair was interpolated into all versions of **Jm** in connection with the verbs over the bread *and* cup:

- **gr Jm**:<sup>179</sup> at the introductory words over the bread *and* cup, in both cases combined with ἀναδείκνυμι in contrast to the *Epiclesis*, where ἀναδείκνυμι combined with this verb-pair is absent!

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 699-700.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Brock, "Invocations," 390-391; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 799-800.

<sup>177</sup> For the *Epiclesis* of **Bas** cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 704-706, 783, 786, 799-800, 803, 804, 812-814, 817.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 704-708.

<sup>179</sup> For **gr Jm** cf. Mercier, 202.

— **syr Jm I + II**<sup>180</sup> (bread *and* cup),  
likewise in: **eth Jm**,<sup>181</sup> **arm Jm**,<sup>182</sup> **georg Jm I + II**.<sup>183</sup>

The function and meaning of the Words of Institution in the Anaphora are initially still “narrative,” that is to say, the Words are not “consecratory” in meaning: the story of the Institution is told without it being intended as a consecratory formula. Moreover, the emphasis lies rather on the Epiclesis. But here again, caution is required. The original text of the Anaphora of Basil did not contain the *Consecratory* verb “to make,” but was restricted to the verb-pair of *Sanctification* εὐλογῆσαι – ἀγιάσαι (“bless – sanctify”).

So far we have seen that central verbs used at the Institution Narrative have their origin in the Epiclesis. The philological analysis of the vocabulary is a highly effective and reliable tool for discernment of the “*Sitz im Leben*” of these verbs, on the basis of which the interrelationship of the various Eucharistic Prayers can be demonstrated as well. Yet for a final assessment of the evidence a more extensive investigation is needed, including in addition a comparison of entire phrases as, for example, in connection with the formulation of the fruits of the Epiclesis, where the Egyptian tradition of **Bas** and **syr Jm I** show considerable closeness, as I have indicated in my study on the *Basilius-Anaphora*.<sup>184</sup> This investigation is indispensable for a final assessment of the various versions of **Jm** and its relation to **Bas**.

#### IV. *The Formulation of the Parousia and Last Judgement*

In addition, several versions of **Bas** and **Jm** show close affinity in connection with the formulation of the Last Judgement at the Parousia; although these expressions are sometimes located at different parts of the Anaphora.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>180</sup> For **syr Jm I** cf. Heiming, “Anaphora Iacobi I,” 146/147; for **syr Jm II** cf. Raes, “Anaphora Iacobi II,” 196/197.

<sup>181</sup> For **eth Jm** cf. Euringer, “Anaphora des Jakobus,” 6 (4) / 7 (4).

<sup>182</sup> For **arm Jm** cf. *Cod. Lyons arm 17*, fol. 134<sup>r</sup>; Catergian – Dashian, 441.

<sup>183</sup> For **georg Jm I + II** cf. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgiae Ibericae*, 13-14/10; 49/36. Highly intriguing is, moreover, the presence of the verb-pair “bless – sanctify” in the Georgian fragment of **Jm** connected with the prayer: “*Cum velum aperit*”; for this fragment cf. J. Jedlička, “Das Prager Fragment der altegorgischen Jakobusliturgie,” *Archiv Orientalni* 29 (Prag 1961), 183-196, here: 192 / 194 number 4.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 827-929.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 831-861.

The reference to the Parousia occurs in **Bas** predominantly at the end of the Oratio post Sanctus and partially also at the Anamnesis, whereas **Jm** places it exclusively at the end of the Anamnesis. Yet in regard to their formulation, they share common traits. The following expressions deserve closer attention:

- the “second coming” of Christ “in glory”
- the “judgement of the globe in justice”  
or the judgement of “the dead and the living”
- the retribution according to individual deeds.

### 1. The “Second Coming” of Christ “in Glory”

The Parousia is announced either as the “second” coming of Christ or as his coming “again” (πάλιν) taken over from the Synod of Antioch in 341 (καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον).<sup>186</sup>

In **Bas** at the Anamnesis:

**eg gr Bas:** καὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβερᾶς πάλιν ἐλεύσεως (other versions: παρουσίας)<sup>187</sup>

also πάλιν: **arm Bas I + II:** “his glorious and terrible ... coming *again*”<sup>188</sup>

**syr Bas:** ... your *second* terrible and glorious coming<sup>189</sup>

also “*second*”: **boh Bas, byz Bas.**<sup>190</sup>

In **Jm** also at the Anamnesis (like in **Bas**):

his coming “*again*”: **arm Jm,**

his “*second*” coming: **gr Jm, syr Jm I + II.**<sup>191</sup>

Not only **Bas** but also **Jm** is dependent on the formulae of the Synod of Antioch in 341, as the following comparison demonstrates:

#### Antiochien 341 (III)

Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 838:

καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον

#### gr Jm

Mercier, 204:

καὶ τῆς δευτέρας  
ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβερᾶς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 833.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 836-837.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 836.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Rahmani, 181; Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 837.

<sup>190</sup> For **boh Bas** cf. Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilius-Anaphora*, 159; for **byz Bas** cf. *Cod. Sevastianov* 474 (ed. of Koster, 53 [as n. 134 above]); for the analysis of **boh Bas + byz Bas** cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 836-837.

<sup>191</sup> For these versions cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 837-838.

	ὅταν ἔλθῃ
μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως	μετὰ δόξης
κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς ...	κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς ...

The last reference to the judgement of the “living and dead” is of greater interest. This leads us to the various expressions for the Last Judgement.

## 2. The Parousia and the Judgement

This Last Judgement was placed at different parts of the Anaphora:<sup>192</sup>

- (1) at the end of the **Oratio post Sanctus**:  
only in the Egyptian tradition of **Bas** (**eg gr Bas**, **sah Bas**, **boh Bas**, **eth Bas**)<sup>193</sup>
- (2) at the end of the **Anamnesis**:  
**syr Bas**,<sup>194</sup> **gr Jm**,<sup>195</sup> **syr Jm I + II**,<sup>196</sup> **georg Jm I + II**,<sup>197</sup> **eth Jm**<sup>198</sup>  
(not: **arm Jm**!<sup>199</sup>)  
**syr Nest**<sup>200</sup>
- (3) at the transition from the Epiclesis to the Intercessions of the dead:  
**arm Bas I** only.<sup>201</sup>

With regard to the specific formulations of the eschatological judgement, we can detect two larger groups:<sup>202</sup>

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 840.

<sup>193</sup> For **sah Bas** cf. Doresse – Lanne, 14 (as n. 18 above); Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora*, 150; for **boh Bas** cf. Budde, 151 (41); for **eg gr Bas** cf. Budde, 150 (41); for **eth Bas** cf. Euringer, “Anaphora des Basilios,” 152/153. These Anaphoras are cited and analysed in Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 839-841.

<sup>194</sup> For **syr Bas** cf. Rahmani, 181; Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 839, 843-844.

<sup>195</sup> For **gr Jm** cf. Mercier, 204; Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 839, 847.

<sup>196</sup> For **syr Jm I** cf. Heimig, “Anaphora Iacobi I,” 148/149; for **syr Jm II** cf. Raes, “Anaphora Iacobi II,” 196/197; Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 844.

<sup>197</sup> For **georg Jm I + II** cf. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgiae Ibericae*, 14/11; 50/37.

<sup>198</sup> For **eth Jm** cf. Euringer, “Anaphora des Jakobus,” 6/7.

<sup>199</sup> For **arm Jm** cf. Catergian – Dashian, 441; **arm Jm** follows here **arm Bas I**; cf. Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 839 with n. 26.

<sup>200</sup> For **syr Nest** cf. Naduthadam, 203-204/255-257 (as n. 130 above); Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 839, 846.

<sup>201</sup> For **arm Bas I** cf. Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 839, 842-843.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 840-841.

- (1) One group of texts mentions that Christ will determine the day  
*"to judge the globe in justice"*:
- (a) at the end of the **Oratio post Sanctus**:  
 only in the Egyptian tradition of **Bas** (eg gr **Bas**, sah **Bas**, boh **Bas**,  
 eth **Bas**)<sup>203</sup>
  - (b) at the end of the **Anamnesis**:  
 syr **Bas**,<sup>204</sup> syr **Jm I + II**<sup>205</sup> (syr **Bas** and syr **Jm I** also share  
*"quo iudicaturus es orbem in iustitia"* verbatim: *"tremendi et gloriosi"*)
- (2) The other group says *at the end of the Anamnesis* that Christ will  
 come *"to judge the dead and the living"* (in that order!):
- syr **Nest**<sup>206</sup>  
 (not: syr **Jm + arm Jm**)<sup>207</sup>
  - gr **Jm** (here inverted: *"living and dead"*)<sup>208</sup>; followed by:
  - georg **Jm I + II**<sup>209</sup>
  - eth **Jm**<sup>210</sup>
- (3) In this context of the *"dead – living"* we must also include  
 the transition from the Epiclesis to the anaphoral *Intercessions*,  
 namely the Commemoration first of the dead then of the living:<sup>211</sup>
- arm **Bas I**  
 (only in arm **Bas I** imbedded in the formulation of the *Last Judge-  
 ment*)<sup>212</sup>;
  - arm **Bas II**;
  - byz **Bas** (followed by byz **Chrys**).<sup>213</sup>

<sup>203</sup> For sah **Bas** cf. Doresse – Lanne, 14 (as n. 18 above); Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora*, 150; for boh **Bas** cf. Budde, 151 (41); for eg gr **Bas** cf. Budde, 150 (41); for eth **Bas** cf. Euringer, "Anaphora des Basilios," 152/153. These Anaphoras are cited and analysed in Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 839-841.

<sup>204</sup> For syr **Bas** cf. Rahmani, 181; Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 839, 843-844.

<sup>205</sup> For syr **Jm I** cf. Heimig, "Anaphora Iacobi I," 148/149; for syr **Jm II** cf. Raes, "Anaphora Iacobi II," 196/197; Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 844.

<sup>206</sup> For syr **Nest** cf. Naduthadam, 203-204/255-257 (as n. 130 above); Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 846.

<sup>207</sup> For arm **Jm** cf. Catergian – Dashian, 441; arm **Jm** follows here arm **Bas I**; cf. Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 839 with n. 26.

<sup>208</sup> For gr **Jm** cf. Mercier, 204; Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 847.

<sup>209</sup> For georg **Jm I + II** cf. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgiae Ibericae*, 14/11; 50/37.

<sup>210</sup> For eth **Jm** cf. Euringer, "Anaphora des Jakobus," 6/7.

<sup>211</sup> For the historical background of this sequence cf. Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 844-850.

<sup>212</sup> For arm **Bas I** cf. Winkler, *Basilios-Anaphora*, 842-843, 849-850, 856.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 856-861.

Once more, we have to notice the parallels between the the *Egyptian* tradition of **Bas** and several versions of **Jm** with regard to explicit reference to Christ's coming "*to judge the globe in justice*," *absent in all the other versions of Bas*. The fact that the *Egyptian* tradition of **Bas** has placed it at the end of the Oratio post Sanctus, in contrast to **syr Jm I + II** where we find this statement at the end of the Anamnesis, leads to ask where its original "*Sitz im Leben*" was at the Anamnesis as in **syr Jm**, or at the end of the Oratio post Sanctus as in *Egyptian Bas*? The presence of this statement in **syr Bas** is probably due to the influence of **syr Jm**.

There are good reasons for assuming that this statement did not belong to the genuine tradition of **Bas**. This passage is foreign to the context of all the other Christological statements in the Oratio post Sanctus of **Bas**, which faithfully follow the Antiochene formulae of 341, including all the formulations associated with the Parousia!<sup>214</sup>

In contrast to the formulation "*to judge the globe in justice*" originally apparently unknown to **Bas**, the other explicit reference to the judgement "of the dead and living" represents the original tradition of **Bas**. However, in **Bas** it never formed part of the Anamnesis, but is hidden in the transition from the Epiclesis to the Intercessions. Here the congruency between **arm Bas I** and **eg gr Bas** is indeed remarkable, despite the fact that in **arm Bas I** this statement forms the transition from the Epiclesis to the Intercessions, whereas in **eg gr Bas** it was included at the end of the Oratio post Sanctus:<sup>215</sup>

**eg gr Bas**

(at the end of the Oratio post Sanctus)

... ὁρίσας ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως  
καθ' ἣν ἐπιφανεῖς  
κρίναι τὴν οἰκουμένην  
ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ...

**arm Bas I**

(at the end of the Epiclesis)

... but may we find mercy  
on the day  
of the appearance

of your just judgement  
with all your saints ...  
[= beginning of the Intercessions  
for the dead, then for the living]

Both texts have incorporated *the day of God's appearance* when he will "*judge in justice the whole earth*" (**eg gr Bas**), or the "*judgement of the dead and the living*" as witnessed in **arm Bas I** with the beginning of the Intercessions for the dead, then for the living, as is also the case in **arm**

<sup>214</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 831-858, 866-870.

<sup>215</sup> For **arm Bas I** cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 842-843, 849-850, 856.

**Bas II + byz Bas.** This tradition goes back to the formula of the Antiochene Synod of 341: κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, which in all the early Syrian sources was reversed to κρῖναι νεκρούς καὶ ζῶντας.<sup>216</sup>

These formulations with regard to the Last Judgement in **Bas** (and **Jm**) are not only related to each other, but show borrowings from the Antiochene Credal tradition of 341, as the Christological statements of the Oratio post Sanctus and the Anamnesis clearly demonstrate.<sup>217</sup> Here we have to include the fundamental division of the anaphoral Intercessions for the dead and the living (or its inversion, referring first to the living, then to the dead). This division of the Intercessions is based on the formulations of the Parousia with its explicit reference that Christ will come "to judge the dead and the living" (which is normative in the early Syrian tradition), or its inversion, praying first for the living and then for the dead.<sup>218</sup>

It remains to discuss another Christological formula of the Antiochene Synod of 341 taken over in the formulation of the Parousia of **Bas** and **Jm**.

### 3. The Judgement According to the Deeds

The Antiochene formulation of 341 concerning the final retribution (ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ) has entered all versions of **Bas**, where it was placed at the end of the Oratio post Sanctus, in contrast to **Jm**, where it is found in all its versions at the end of the Anamnesis.<sup>219</sup> So once more **Bas** and **Jm** share a common tradition, while including the statement at different places. (Interestingly enough, this Antiochene formula is present in the Syriac Acts of Thomas as well.<sup>220</sup>)

<sup>216</sup> For the detailed analysis cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 848-850, 856-861.

<sup>217</sup> For an overview on these Antiochene Christological statements in the Oratio post Sanctus and Anamnesis cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 868-869.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 840, 844-850, 855-861.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 851-855.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, 851

# V. The Precommunion Rites and the Problem of the "Sancta sanctis"-Cycle<sup>221</sup>

After the investigation of the various redactions of the Anaphora of Basil a new research project, now on the Armenian Liturgy of Sahak and its dependence on the Liturgy of Basil, was begun and has now been completed.<sup>222</sup> In this context, those parts of the Liturgy that follow the Anaphora were also studied more closely. Thereby, the Precommunion Rites of the various versions of the Liturgy of Basil were explored in greater detail, including the redactions of the Liturgy of James concerning the "Sancta sanctis"-cycle.

The Preparatory Rites of Communion consist predominantly of:

- (1) the "Pater noster" with its central aspect of reconciliation;
- (2) the "Sancta sanctis"-cycle.

<sup>221</sup> The "Sancta sanctis" formed part of several investigations. The most prominent study was undoubtedly R. Taft's extensive publication: *The Precommunion Rites* (OCA 261, Rome 2000). See, moreover: M. Arranz, "Le «Sancta sanctis» dans la tradition liturgique des églises," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 15 (1973), 31-67. It was above all R. Taft's interpretation of the Inclination Prayer as a *Prayer of conclusion and dismissal of the non-communicants* (cf. *Precommunion Rites*, 512: the Inclination Prayer is "by nature a prayer of conclusion or final blessing at the end of a liturgical service"), which warranted closer attention and scrutiny. Cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak* (as n. 2 above).

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak* (as n. 2 above) with the following chapters regarding the "Sancta sanctis": Das Sancta sanctis und sein unmittelbares Umfeld; Einleitung: Die strukturellen Bestandteile des Sancta sanctis; 1. Die Proskynese; 2. Das Inklinations-Gebet des Priesters in der Basilius-Liturgie im Vergleich mit verwandten Texten und ihr Hintergrund: a. Die Oratio I (= Inklinations-Gebet): Δέσποτα Κύριε; b. Die Oratio II: Πρόσχες Κύριε; 3. Das Πρόσχωμεν im Kontext des Sancta sanctis: a. Der unterschiedliche strukturelle Ablauf zu Beginn; b. Der Hintergrund des Πρόσχωμεν und seine Bedeutung beim Sancta sanctis; Über die Bedeutung des Πρόσχωμεν beim Sancta sanctis und seine syrische und athiopische Übersetzung; 4. Die Oratio Πρόσχες Κύριε und ihre Bedeutung als Elevations-Gebet: a. Die Rubriken; b. Die Aussagen in der Oratio Πρόσχες Κύριε: (1) Die Gemeinsamkeit mit einer zentralen Aussage der Oratio ante Sanctus; (2) Die Gemeinsamkeit mit zentralen Verben der Epiklese; 5. Überleitung zum Sancta sanctis; 6. Das Τὸ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις und seine Übersetzungen: a. Die armenischen Übersetzungen; b. Anmerkungen zur syrischen und äthiopischen Übersetzung; 7. Die Antwort des Volkes auf das Sancta sanctis: a. Die christologische Formulierung; b. Die trinitarische Formulierung; c. Die aus Εἰς ἅγιος hervorgegangenen Zeugen"; etc.

See in addition: "The Precommunion Rites and the Problem of the Sancta Sanctis in the Various Redactions of the Liturgy of Basil and Other Traditions," in R.F. Taft (ed.), *The Armenian Sub Patarag*. Acts of the May 8, 2008 Symposium at the Pontificio Istituto Orientale in Honor of the Visit to Rome May 6-10, 2008, of His Holiness Karekin II, Catholicos of Etchmiadzin and Supreme Patriarch of All Armenians, in press in the Congress Acta to appear in OCA; eadem, "Overview of the Research Project: The Armenian Liturgy of Sahak (Edition – Translation – Commentary) and its Dependence on the Armenian Version of the Liturgy of Basil," in press *ibid*.



The cycle of the "Sancta sanctis" had posed problems with regard to

(1) its structure and content;

(2) its meaning.

The "Sancta sanctis"-cycle has the following structure not only in the Liturgy of Basil but in a good many other Liturgies as well:<sup>223</sup>

#### Part I: The Proskynesis:

1. The Admonition of the Deacon:  
either for a Prostration or an Inclination to bow the head
2. The Response of the Faithful (either: "Ante Dominum" or: Σοι Κύριε)
3. The (*highly variable*) Inclination-Prayer of the Priest  
(in **byz Bas**: Δέσποτα Κύριε)

#### Part II: The "Sancta Sanctis" proper:

(which is closely connected with the prior Admonition of the Deacon<sup>224</sup>) consists of:

1. The Admonition of the Deacon: Πρόσχωμεν
2. The Elevation-Prayer<sup>225</sup> (in **byz Bas**: Πρόσχες Κύριε)  
and the "Sancta sanctis" proper of the Priest [with the Elevation].
3. The Christological or Trinitarian Response of the Faithful.

This fundamental bipartite structure of the "Sancta sanctis"-cycle, consisting of the Proskynesis (or Inclination) and the *inherently related* "Sancta sanctis" proper, can be found in the various redactions of the Liturgy of Basil (such as **eg gr Bas**, **arm Bas I**, **arm Bas II**, **byz Bas**) or **byz Chrys**. The diaconal exhortation for a "Proskynesis" or "Inclination"<sup>226</sup> forming *Part I*, and the "Sancta sanctis" of *Part II* of the cycle form an intricate unity:

The "Sancta sanctis"-cycle *begins* with the Admonition of the Deacon: "Let us fall down before God / the Lord" or: "Bow your head," followed by the so-called "Inclination"-Prayer or "Proskynesis"-Prayer of the priest. *These two elements constitute the first part of the Sancta sanctis.*

<sup>223</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak*; *eadem*, "Precommunion Rites."

<sup>224</sup> Pace Taft, *Precommunion Rites*, 155-197 (= "The Inclination"), 199-260 (= "The Elevation and Sancta Sanctis"), 512 (as n. 221 above). Cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak* (as notes 2 and 222 above); *eadem*, *Das Sanctus. Über den Ursprung und die Anfänge des Sanctus und sein Fortwirken* (OCA 267, Rome 2002), 249-264.

<sup>225</sup> Not present in all witnesses: for example, **arm Bas I** (followed by **arm Sah**) and the Egyptian witnesses such as **eg gr Bas** or **eth Bas**, do not have an Elevation Prayer (cf. Πρόσχες Κύριε in **byz Bas**), but neither **arm Bas I** nor the Egyptian tradition of **Bas** are entirely reliable in this context; cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak* (as notes 2 and 222 above).

<sup>226</sup> There are Liturgies where the Deacon calls for a "Proskynesis" and others with a diaconal admonition for an "Inclination." Cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak*.

The second part is inaugurated by the second Admonition of the Deacon: Πρόσχωμεν, followed by the Prayer: Πρόσχες Κύριε.

This Πρόσχωμεν warrants closer attention in order to understand more fully the Elevation-Prayer Πρόσχες Κύριε of the priest in the Liturgy of Basil. The diaconal exhortation Πρόσχωμεν does not only mean "*Let us be attentive*" but has other nuances as well, which become immediately apparent once we look into the Syriac and Ethiopic translations of Πρόσχωμεν.<sup>227</sup> The Syriac and Ethiopic rendering of the Πρόσχωμεν show that they understood this admonition as an exhortation to "*look*," to "*become aware*," to "*contemplate*" (nuances present in the Greek Πρόσχωμεν as well<sup>228</sup>): *the faithful should become aware of and ponder what the priest is doing (namely, elevating the bread, the symbol of the Lamb), while he is saying: Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις* ("*Sancta sanctis*" or: "*The holy [things] for the holy [ones]*")!

Once these nuances of the Πρόσχωμεν are taken seriously, the Elevation-Prayer associated with the Πρόσχωμεν in the Liturgy of Basil (taken over in Chrysostom) beginning with: Πρόσχες Κύριε is also much better understood.

In the Byzantine Liturgy of Basil there are two prayers, Δέσποτα Κύριε (= Inclination-Prayer) and Πρόσχες Κύριε (= Elevation-Prayer). By their vocabulary *taken from the Epiclesis and the Oratio ante Sanctus* of the Anaphora, both convey quite clearly what is actually meant by the subsequent exclamation of the priest: "*Sancta sanctis*."<sup>229</sup>

Since the Liturgy of Basil established close parallels between the context of the "*Sanctus*" and that of the "*Epiclesis*,"<sup>230</sup> it is not surprising to see the Πρόσχωμεν associated as well with the central verbs of "*sanctification*."<sup>231</sup>

The closer investigation of the Deacon's exhortation for a Proskynesis or an Inclination and the adjunct "Inclination"-Prayer, followed by the Πρόσχωμεν of the Deacon and the "Elevation"-Prayer Πρόσχες Κύριε, showed that *they are intimately intertwined with the Epiclesis and the "ante Sanctus"*. All the above mentioned building-blocks of the "*Sancta sanctis*" have central statements or vocabulary in common: there is a continuous chain of thought between the admonition of the Deacon for a Prostration / Inclination, the accompanying "Inclination"-Prayer, and the

<sup>227</sup> The Armenians kept the Greek, only transliterating it. Cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak*.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 101991), 1169.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak* (as notes 2 and 222 above); *eadem*, "Precommunion Rites."

<sup>230</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilius-Anaphora*, 758-773.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 779.

second admonition of the Deacon with the *Πρόσχωμεν* and the "Elevation"-Prayer *Πρόσχες Κύριε*: they are all intertwined with each other, with the Epiclesis, and with the ante Sanctus.

Preceding the priest's exclamation *Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις* at the Elevation of the bread, the symbol of the Lamb, the Elevation-Prayer *Πρόσχες Κύριε* referred back to the "ante Sanctus" and especially to the Epiclesis. The petition: "Come to sanctify us!" of this Elevation-Prayer, is a deliberate reminiscence of the central petition of the Epiclesis with its invitation of the Holy Spirit to "come" upon the faithful and upon the gifts in order "to sanctify" both the people and the gifts. The gifts of bread and wine have been sanctified along with the people at the Epiclesis. But before receiving communion, the petition for sanctification of all those who receive communion, the priest and the faithful alike, is repeated: *ἐλθέ εἰς τὸ ἁγιάσαι ἡμᾶς*! With this central petition of the Epiclesis repeated at the Elevation-Prayer, it becomes possible and consistent for the priest to exclaim then at the Elevation proper: *Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*! That is: *Τὰ ἅγια* for those who can now — because of the petition for "sanctification" (*ἐλθέ εἰς τὸ ἁγιάσαι ἡμᾶς*) — rightly be addressed as the "Holy Ones"!

The two main building-blocks of the "Sancta sanctis"-cycle of the Liturgy of Basil repeat the central vocabulary of the Epiclesis and the ante Sanctus, thereby clearly underlining how intertwined the Sanctus, the Epiclesis, and the "Sancta sanctis" are.<sup>232</sup>

### The Evolution of the "Sancta sanctis"-cycle

Closer scrutiny of the various versions of **Bas** and **Jm** suggests that not all the elements of the "Sancta sanctis"-cycle of **Bas** belonged to the original shape of the "Sancta sanctis." *Part I* of the "Sancta sanctis"-cycle, consisting of the diaconal Admonition for an Inclination (or *Prostration*!), followed by the Inclination-Prayer (*Δέσποτα κύριε*), is well attested in the authentic tradition of **Bas**.<sup>233</sup>

With regard to the first diaconal Admonition (for an Inclination or *Prostration*), I had argued in my study on the Liturgy of Sahak that the *Prostration* with which the cycle of the "Sancta sanctis" begins is highly significant, for it is a reminiscence of the verb *προσκυνεῖν*, whose primarily place is *before the Sanctus*<sup>234</sup> and *before the Epiclesis*<sup>235</sup> of the Ana-

<sup>232</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak* (as notes 2 and 222 above); *eadem*, "Precommunion Rites."

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Basilian-Anaphora*, 444-445, 768-772.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 761, 765-766, 768-772.

phora of Basil. The *prostration* was then also placed at the *beginning* of the “Sancta sanctis”-cycle. The origin of the *verb* προσκυνεῖν undoubtedly lies in the “ante Sanctus” of **Bas**. These striking parallels between the *Epiclesis* and the *Sanctus*,<sup>236</sup> and the “Sancta sanctis,” can be found throughout the entire Liturgy of Basil.

*Part II* consisted originally only of the Πρόσχωμεν and the immediately following Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. The Prayer Πρόσχες κύριε was seemingly introduced later on in **Bas**.<sup>237</sup>

Something similar has to be said about the older versions of **Jm** (**syr Jm I + II**, and **arm Jm**): *part II* of the “Sancta sanctis”-cycle consisted originally of just the Πρόσχωμεν and the immediately following Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. There was no prayer in between.

Here is an overview of this first group of redactions of **Jm** with the entire “Sancta sanctis”-cycle. The borrowings in its Inclination-Prayer will be indicated as well:<sup>238</sup>

<b>syr Jm I</b> Heiming, 172/173-174/175:	<b>syr Jm II</b> Raes, 206/207-208/209:	<b>arm Jm</b> Catergian–Dashian, 447-448:
<b>Part I:</b>	<b>Part I:</b>	<b>Part I:</b>
1. Admonition of the Deacon (to bow the head)	1. Admonition of the Deacon (to bow the head)	1. Admonition of the Deacon (for a prostration)
2. Inclination-Prayer (vocabulary taken from Epiclesis of <b>Jm + Bas</b> )	2. Inclination-Prayer (vocabulary taken from Epiclesis of <b>Jm + Bas</b> )	2. Inclination-Prayer (vocabulary taken from Epiclesis of <b>Jm + Bas</b> )
<b>Part II:</b>	<b>Part II:</b>	<b>Part II:</b>
1. Diaconal Admonition: Πρόσχωμεν	1. Diaconal Admonition: “With fear [let us look!]”	1. Diaconal Admonition: “With fear look!”
2. “Sancta sanctis”	2. “Sancta sanctis”	2. “Sancta sanctis”
3. Response: <i>trinitarian</i> (cf. Is 6:3)	3. Response: <i>trinitarian</i> (cf. Is 6:3)	3. Response: <i>trinitarian</i> (cf. Is 6:3).

The other group of redactions of **Jm**, **gr Jm**, **georg Jm I + II**, offers *between* the Πρόσχωμεν and the Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις a prayer, which consists of two parts. Here is an overview of this second group of redactions

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 758-773.

<sup>237</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak* (as notes 2 and 222 above).

<sup>238</sup> For **syr Jm I** cf. Heiming, “Anaphora Iacobi I,” 172/173-174/175; for **syr Jm II** cf. Raes, “Anaphora Iacobi II,” 206/207-208/209; for **arm Jm** cf. Catergian – Dashian, 447-448; **syr Jm I** transliterates Πρόσχωμεν; whereas **syr Jm II** translates Πρόσχωμεν: “With fear [let us look!]; and **arm Jm** has: “With fear look!” Cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak* (as notes 2 and 222 above).

of **Jm** with the entire "Sancta sanctis"-cycle (once more, the borrowings in these prayers will be indicated as well):<sup>239</sup>

<b>gr Jm</b> Mercier, 226, 228:	<b>georg Jm I</b> Tarchnišvili, 24-25/18-19:	<b>georg Jm II</b> Tarchnišvili, 60-61/44-45:
<b>Part I:</b>	<b>Part I:</b>	<b>Part I:</b>
1. Admonition of the Deacon (to bow the head)	1. Admonition of the Deacon (to bow the head)	1. Admonition of the Deacon (to bow the head)
2. Inclination-Prayer (vocabulary taken from Epiclesis of <b>Jm + Bas</b> )	2. Inclination-Prayer (vocabulary taken from Epiclesis of <b>Jm + Bas</b> )	2. Inclination-Prayer (vocabulary taken from Epiclesis of <b>Jm + Bas</b> )
<b>Part II:</b>	<b>Part II:</b>	<b>Part II:</b>
1. Admonition of the Deacon: Πρόσχωμεν	1. Admonition of the Deacon: "Look!"	1. Admonition of the Deacon: "Look!"
2. <i>bipartite</i> Prayer	2. <i>bipartite</i> Prayer	2. <i>bipartite</i> Prayer
<b>Part I:</b> (vocabulary taken from Epiclesis of <b>Bas</b> )	[Inversion of parts I+II]	<b>Part I:</b> (vocabulary taken from Epiclesis of <b>Bas</b> )
<b>Part II:</b> (vocabulary taken from "ante Sanctus" of <b>Bas</b> )	(vocabulary taken from "ante Sanctus" of <b>Bas</b> )	<b>Part II:</b> (vocabulary taken from "ante Sanctus" of <b>Bas</b> )
3. "Sancta sanctis"	3. "Sancta sanctis"	3. "Sancta sanctis"
4. Response: <i>Christological</i>	4. Response: <i>Christological</i>	4. Response: <i>Christological</i>

### Observations:

#### Part I:

The central vocabulary contained in the *Inclination-Prayer* of both versions, **Bas** and **Jm**, was *taken over from the Epiclesis*: **Bas** has borrowed central statements from its Epiclesis; whereas *all* versions of **Jm** included vocabulary of its own Epiclesis *and* of the Anaphora of **Bas**.

#### Part II:

(1) The *bipartite* Prayer *between* the Πρόσχωμεν and the "Sancta sanctis" proper in the later versions of **Jm** (**gr Jm**, **georg Jm I + II**) was influenced in its first section by the vocabulary of the *Epiclesis* of **Bas**, and in its second section by the "ante Sanctus" of **Bas**.

<sup>239</sup> For **gr Jm** cf. Mercier, 226; 228; for **georg Jm I + II** cf. Tarchnišvili, 24-25/18-19, 60-61/44-45; **georg Jm I + II** translate Πρόσχωμεν with: "Look!" Cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak* (as notes 2 and 222 above).

(2) The response (by the faithful) to the "Sancta sanctis" is either *Christological* (= the original form of **Bas** as in **byz Bas**, followed by **gr Jm**, **georg Jm I + II**) or it has the preferred Syrian *trinitarian* structure, based on the inspiration of the *thrice* "holy" of *Is* 6:3, as in **arm Bas I**, **gr Jm**, **georg Jm I + II**.<sup>240</sup>

For the detailed discussion and the reasons why the "Sancta sanctis" has not necessarily originated in Jerusalem (as was hitherto thought), but possibly has its roots in the *Epiclesis* of **eg Bas**, I refer to the extensive investigation of the "Sancta sanctis" in my "*Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak*."

\*

What preliminary observations can we make about the interrelationship of **Bas** and **Jm** on the basis of our philological analysis of selected themes, namely: the concern for Orthodoxy and how this is reflected in the Liturgies of Basil and James; the praise of God by the angels and the community; the *Epiclesis* and the Institution Narrative; the Last Judgment at the Parousia; the preparation for Communion? Although several signs point toward some influence of **Bas** on **Jm**, it is still far too early for any definite conclusions before we have available reliable scholarly monographs on the Syriac and Byzantine versions of the Anaphora of Basil, as well as by separate monographs on the entire Anaphora of the Armenian and Ethiopic versions of the Anaphora of James compared to both Syriac redactions on the one hand; and on the other, studies about the common ground and differences, between the Anaphora of both Georgian versions with the Greek text of the Liturgy of James. One thing, however, has emerged clearly already: the Liturgy of James in its various redactions belongs to one of the most urgent and interesting tasks of Comparative Liturgiology, that lie ahead of us.

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<sup>240</sup> For a detailed analysis cf. Winkler, *Die armenische Liturgie des Sahak* (as notes 2 and 222 above).

## ANAPHORA ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS STUDY

**Armenian Anaphoras:**

- arm Bas I** = first Armenian redaction of the Anaphora of Basil  
**arm Bas II** = second Armenian redaction of the Anaphora of Basil  
**arm Jm** = Armenian Anaphora of James  
**arm Sah** = Armenian Anaphora of Sahak

**Ethiopic Anaphoras:**

- eth An-300** = Ethiopic Anaphora of the 300 [= 318] Orthodox Fathers  
**eth Ap-An** = Ethiopic Anaphora of the Apostles  
**eth Bas** = Ethiopic Anaphora of Basil  
**eth Chrys** = Ethiopic Anaphora of Chrysostom  
**eth Cyr** = Ethiopic Anaphora of Cyril  
**eth Diosc** = Ethiopic Anaphora of Dioscuros  
**eth Greg** = Ethiopic Anaphora of Gregory  
**eth Jm** = Ethiopic Anaphora of James  
**eth John** = Ethiopic Anaphora of John  
**eth Mary** = Ethiopic Anaphora of Mary

**Georgian Anaphoras:**

- georg Jm I + II** = first and second Georgian Anaphora of James

**Greek Anaphoras:**

- eg Bas** = Egyptian tradition of the Anaphora of Basil (i.e., in Greek, Coptic, Ethiopic)  
**eg gr Bas** = Egyptian-Greek Anaphora of Basil  
**byz Bas** = Byzantine Anaphora of Basil  
**byz Chrys** = Byzantine Anaphora of Chrysostom  
**gr Jm** = Greek Anaphora of James  
**gr Mark** = Greek Anaphora of Mark

**Coptic Anaphoras:**

- boh Bas** = Bohairic Anaphora of Basil  
**sah Bas** = Sahidic Anaphora of Basil

**Syriac Anaphoras:**

- syr Ap-An** = East-Syrian Anaphora of the Apostles Addai und Mari  
**syr Bas** = Syriac Anaphora of Basil  
**syr Diosc I-II** = Syriac Anaphora of Dioscuros I-II  
**syr Jm I-II** = Syriac Anaphora of James I-II  
**syr Nest** = East-Syrian Anaphora of Mar Nestorius  
**syr Pet III** = Syriac Anaphora of Peter III (= Šarrar)  
**syr TheoMop** = East-Syrian Anaphora of Mar Theodore of Mopsuestia

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## SUMMARY

This contribution deals with selected themes, such as the concern for Orthodoxy and how this is reflected in the various redactions of the Liturgies of Basil and James; the praise of God by the angels and the community in the Oratio ante Sanctus; the Epiclesis and the Institution Narrative; including the Last Judgement at the Parousia, which forms part either of the Oratio post Sanctus or the Anamnesis; and the preparation for Communion, i.e. the Sancta sanctis-Cycle. These themes were investigated, for the first time, on the basis of a philological analysis of technical terminology contained in the various versions of the Liturgies of Basil and James, allowing thereby several preliminary observations about the interrelationship of the various redactions of two of the most prominent liturgies of entire Christendom.

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## Herbert Weld Blundel: «The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769-1840»

### Indice dei nomi e delle citazioni bibliche

#### PREMESSA

Herbert Weld Blundel, n. nel 1852 e m. il 5 febbraio 1935, fu un viaggiatore inglese, che, dopo aver compiuto i suoi studi a Stoneyhurst e a Oxford, visitò prima la Persia e la Cirenaica e quindi l'Africa Orientale. Nel 1898, durante una spedizione in cui attraversò la Somalia, l'Etiopia e il Sudan, scoprì che il Nilo era stato segnato sulle mappe in modo inesatto, raccolse centinaia di specie di uccelli e fece dono al British Museum di 17 nuove specie. Nel 1905 fu ancora in Etiopia, tracciò nuove mappe, studiò il sistema politico degli Oromo e i costumi della popolazione Berta, vivente nell'area sud del Nilo Azzurro. In patria continuò a coltivare i suoi interessi per l'Etiopia e pubblicò, in lingua *ge'ez* (l'etiopico classico): "The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769-1840, with Translation and Notes by H. Weld Blundel, Cambridge - London 1922". Aveva già dato alle stampe: "A Journey through Abyssinia to the Nile", *Geographical Journal* 15, 1900, pp. 97-121, 264-272; "Exploration in the Abai Basin, Abyssinia", *Geographical Journal* 27, 1906, pp. 529-553 (cf. Thomas P. Ofcansky, s.v., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Volume I A-C, Edited by Siegbert Uhlig, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2003, p. 599a).

In questo articolo, pubblichiamo gli "Indici dei nomi e delle citazioni bibliche" di «The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769-1840», assenti nel libro del 1922, che potranno essere utili agli studiosi. Nell'Indice abbiamo cercato di uniformare la grafia dei nomi che Blundel scrive assai spesso in modo diverso, segnatamente per l'uso difforme dei segni diacritici; i numeri dopo i due punti rimandano alle pp. del libro originale.

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## SUMMARY

The English traveller Herbert Weld Blundel (1852-1953) visited East Africa and Ethiopia in 1898, where he discovered that the Nile had been inaccurately located on the maps, and gathered hundreds of samples of indigenous birds that he donated to the British Museum. In Ethiopia again in 1905, he drew new maps, and studied the political system of the Oromo and the customs of the Berta population. On his return home he continued his studies of Ethiopica, some of which he published. His principal work was a Ge'ez edition with English translation of *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769-1840*, which appeared in London in 1922. The present article publishes the "Index of Proper Names and Biblical Citations," absent in the original edition of Blundel.

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## Bulgakov's Christological Synthesis: A Catholic Appreciation

The Archpriest Sergius Bulgakov (1871-1944) opens his searching — and probably most “infamous” — Christological treatise<sup>1</sup> with an invitation, quoting the one found at the very end of Sacred Scripture: “And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, come” (Rev 22:17) (xiii [5]). With these simple direct words, he sets out his theological — even *pastoral* — program: to draw his readers into his own speculative thought in view of a common effort onto the glorification of Almighty God. In his celebration of the reality of the Christ event for the salvation of the world, Bulgakov clearly favors *engagement* with the world. In his own words, “in Christianity is born the new sense of life that one should not flee the world but that Christ is coming into the world for the marriage feast of the Lamb, the feast of Divine-Humanity” (xv [6]).

Given that Christological concerns were the main focus of Christian dogmatics in the fourth and fifth centuries, it is not surprising that Bulgakov begins his own Christological study with an extensive overview of patristic thought in this era. Studying, in particular, the positions of Apollinarius of Laodicea, Cyril of Alexandria, and the Antiochene School of Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, and Theodore, then that of Pope Leo the Great as elaborated in his celebrated Tome to Flavian, all of which leading up to a consideration of the Definition of Chalcedon, Bulgakov underscores the central theological dynamic at stake in the debate, namely, the exact *interrelation* between the divine and human natures in the God-Man now that the truth of the *consubstantiality* of the Father and the Son was dogmatically established by Nicaea. Notably, he views Chalcedon as part of a “triune council,” with the Third (Ephesus) and the Fifth (Constantinople II) Councils providing

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<sup>1</sup> *Agnets Bozhii* (Paris: YMCA-Press, 1933); Eng. trans., *The Lamb of God* (Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2008), henceforth pagination in parenthesis referring to the Eng. trans. and that in brackets referring to the Rus. original. For pointed Orthodox critiques of Bulgakov, esp. as tendered toward this work, see Nikolai O. Losskii, *Uchenie Sergiia Bulgakova o vseedinstve i o Bozhestvennoi Sofii* (South Canaan, Pennsylvania: St. Tikhon Press, n.d., and especially that of his son Vladimir, *Spor o Sofii*, Paris, 1936.

the "prolegomenon and epilogomenon" (57 [73]) to Chalcedon. Surprisingly, then, he does not really elaborate on this matter, mentioning Ephesus (431) and Constantinople II (553) as if only in passing (46 [63], 57 [73], 63 [81]).

It does bear reiterating, however, what these other two councils concerned themselves with in relation to what was the exact focus of Chalcedon. Whereas the former deals with the views of Nestorius and what was codified at the time as the heresy of Nestorianism, which holds that in Jesus there are two separate persons, one divine, the Son of God, the Logos, the other human, the Man, Jesus Christ, the son of Mary, who is more properly the Christotokos (the Mother of Christ), and not the Theotokos (the Mother of God), the latter merely revisits the Nestorian and Euthychian (Monophysite) controversies and reconfirms the decrees of Ephesus and Chalcedon. To Bulgakov's credit, he does try to give a more sympathetic hearing to Nestorius and to cast his views and those of the School of Antioch in a more Orthodox light, indeed, as prefiguring the "Antiochianizing Tome of Leo the Great" (57 [74]).

The rivalry between the Schools of Alexandria and Antioch with their respective defenses of the unity and duality to be found in Christ is well-known to theology and need not be detailed again here. The imprecision of the theological terminology of the time, which was basically foreign to Biblical vocabulary, could only add to the complexity of the debate, which Bulgakov rightfully discusses under the rubric, the "antinomy of bi-unity in Christology." To Bulgakov's mind, however, the achievement of Chalcedon was less a triumph of theological expression than a true moment of grace and divine guidance that laid the ground rules, as it were, for any would-be ecclesial reconciliation. What Chalcedon does do with its dogmatic formula "*mia hypostasis – duo phuseis*" (one hypostasis, two natures) is to provide a "*synthetic* resolution to the dialectical antithesis that we have in the Christology of the schools of Antioch and Alexandria" (56f [73]). Calling the Definition of Chalcedon a "dogmatic miracle," Bulgakov marvels how from "an external, mechanical union of two heterogeneous and mutually antagonistic conceptions" that there can arise, most unexpectedly, a "chemical (instead of mechanical) union, forming a dogmatic crystal," yielding not only a doctrinal norm, but a "limit problem of the theological and philosophical understanding" (61-62 [79-80]).

Bulgakov straightforwardly lists the errors the Council of Chalcedon was determined to combat, namely, "the division of the one person into two sons, the assertion that the Divinity is subject to suffering, the mixing or confusion of the natures, the opinion asserting a heavenly nature in Christ, and the opinion asserting two natures before the union and one after it" (59 [77]). Citing the Chalcedonian decree itself, he notes how "one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten [is] to be ac-

knowledged in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation" (60n [78n]). The dogmatic antinomy of bi-unity in Christ, that as one Divine Person he is endowed with both a divine and a human nature, is thus characterized by four *negative* determinations: *asugchetōs*, *atreptōs*, *adiairetōs*, *achōristōs* (inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably), in this way only indirectly suggesting a positive understanding of the bi-unity fundamental to the very *being* of Christ as a person (see 60n [78n], 61 [79], 77 [98], 84 [106], 194-96 [220-22], 199 [224], cf. 25 [38]). The overarching task before Bulgakov now comes to the fore. Unquestionably faithful to the Definition of Chalcedon, he endeavors to go *beyond* the definition with its negative formulation and to proffer a *positive recasting* of this foundational Christological dogma in accord with his *sophiological* conception. For its part, Bulgakov's "sophiological" Christology is based on the theological *preconditions* for the Incarnation, the exact nature about which goes beyond the matter at hand in the Chalcedonian dogma, which concerns itself with maintaining the principle of equilibrium of the two natures that lies at the heart of the Hypostatic Union. In other words, making the Definition of Chalcedon his point of departure, Bulgakov proceeds to explore in his magisterial study the very ontological possibility of the *in-hypostatization* of the Logos in the human nature of Christ. In the process of setting forth his basic theses, he only purports to re-work the Chalcedonian dogma from a strictly positive point of view.

A second moment is also crucial to Bulgakov's theological enterprise. His theological speculation is never divorced from man. Indeed, a clear theological anthropology is entailed by his sophiological theses on the Incarnation. It is an anthropology thoroughly at one with St. Athanasius' primordial theological intuition: God became man so that man can become god. In a word, the Incarnation apart from being at the center of Christology entails *theōsis*; it is, in sum, *soteriological* in import.

Before embarking on his own specifically sophiological Christology, Bulgakov still needs to finish his patristic overview in search of signposts to guide his own reflection. These he finds, above all, in Leontius of Byzantium's doctrine on "enhypostasia" and, then, in the corpus of Maximus the Confessor the teaching on the two wills and energies in Christ that directly leads up to the decrees of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, Constantinople III, in 680. Throughout, the problem of the interrelation of the two natures in Christ is the subtext of these further efforts in theological reflection. In regard to Leontius, Bulgakov underscores his articulation of a fundamental axiom: "there is no nature without hypostasis" (65 [84]), which, he claims, Leontius ultimately violates in his theory of complex being produced by the union of natures, with the properties of one given nature (human) entering into an in-hypostatic union with another (divine) merely arbitrarily presuming the for-

mer is "nonhypostatic." "In other words," Bulgakov writes, "a 'nature' cannot exist as such, as a certain complex of properties, independently of its hypostatic incarnation" (66 [85]). In critiquing Leontius in this fashion, he locates the central weakness in Leontius' theory in the fact of his categories being too rooted in the natural world and, thus, being inadequate for understanding the dynamics of "the *personal* spirit living in a hypostatic nature" (70 [90]). Accordingly, Bulgakov opines Leontius' theory, though formally faithful to Chalcedon, actually presents "the humanity in Christ as a nature deprived of hypostasis, which is replaced by the divine hypostasis of the Logos" (71 [91]), thereby resurrecting, albeit unintentionally, the adoptionism of Apollinarius of Laodicea, who first posed the Christological problem of Divine-Humanity or of the two natures in Christ that was later dogmatically defined in Chalcedon.

The key question, for Bulgakov, has yet to be sufficiently addressed. This matter concerns the exact relation that obtains between the unity of the hypostasis and the duality of the natures in the *one* God-Man. This problem was, in its time, to be given another articulation in the work of Maximus the Confessor, who poses the question as to the implications of the duality of self-determination given the unity of life in the God-Man. In this regard, his thought is a direct response to the challenge of Monothelitism, which, as Bulgakov keenly expresses it, was, in essence, a "tactical means of counteracting the Chalcedonian dogma" (75 [95]). Whereas the Monothelites held that the will belongs to the *hypostasis* (hence there is *one* will in Christ), Maximus maintained that the will is a manifestation of *nature*, there thereby being a *duality* of wills in Christ as a consequent of his duality of natures. What obtains, then, is a *composite* life. In the words of Bulgakov, "having two natures, the one hypostasis of Christ lives a 'composite' life ('without separation and without confusion'); and it thus realizes its life simultaneously and in parallel in the two essences in the case of the unity of the living hypostatic self-definition" (77 [98]).

For his part, Bulgakov endeavors to transcend the polemics between the Monothelites and Maximus by pointing out what he considers the chief weakness/omission in the debate, namely, "the life of the spirit," with the spirit being the "living and inseparable unity of person and nature, so that *in concreto* there is no impersonal nature or natureless personality" (77 [98]). Furthermore, he adds, even if Maximus is correct in defending the position that there is a duality of wills and energies in Christ, he still does not answer the further question of *how* the simultaneous operation of the two wills in Christ is possible in the first place (see 81 [102]). *Mutatis mutandis*, this is Bulgakov's critique of the definition of the Sixth Ecumenical Council. At the same time, however, he underscores its "specification and amplification of the Chalcedonian dogma" (85 [107]) in the fact that in upholding the conformity between



the duality of wills and energies with the duality of natures in Christ, the Council Fathers also expressly affirm that the *reality* of the *humanity* in Christ necessarily entails that it enjoy full *autonomy* in freedom with respect to its *union* with the Divinity (see 85 [107-8]). In this respect, Bulgakov sees an "unexpected triumph of the school of Antioch" (85 [108]) with the Sixth Ecumenical Council, which thereby serves as a sort of antithesis to the Fifth Ecumenical Council, Constantinople II, restoring theological balance. The Council's definition is of import for another reason; it establishes the *hierarchy of wills* in the sense that even as the human will in Christ preserves its autonomous being while ever in union with the divine will, it nevertheless "follows and 'subordinates' itself to the divine will, so that 'His human will, being deified, was not annihilated but preserved,' and that 'each of the two essences produces that which is proper to itself in communion with the other'" (86 [109]).<sup>2</sup>

On this note, Bulgakov concludes his exposition of the key moments in patristic Christology. Oddly, he downplays, while admitting, the Christological significance of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, Nicaea II.<sup>3</sup> Even though he explicitly states that its dogmatic definition concerning the theological significance of iconography and the veneration of icons forms a "dogmatic cupola, as it were, over the preceding dogmatic definitions" (88 [111]), in *The Lamb of God* he gives the Seventh Ecumenical Council short shrift, preferring to refer the reader to his previous study *Ikona i ikonopochtianie* (The icon and the veneration of icons)<sup>4</sup> in which he tries to uncover the true dogmatic import of Nicaea II contrary to the prevailing views at the time of the Council over the meaning of the Incarnation for art and Christian worship. In a word, he stresses that the primary issue at hand was not the two natures of Christ the God-Man, but rather his *person*, in other words, the *unity* of the Divine image with the human image (88 [110-11]).

This being said, it is now important to delve into Bulgakov's understanding of the nature of personal spirit. Noting how a personal consciousness of self is proper to any spiritual being, he proceeds to formulate an "initial ontological axiom" (*iskhodnaia ontologicheskaiia aksioma*) (89 [112]), namely, that every hypostasis, be it divine, angelic or human, enjoys its own *nature* in which it lives and realizes itself. Between the

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<sup>2</sup> Bulgakov is citing Constantinople III without reference to any particular text. For the Greek, Latin and English texts, see Norman P. Tanner, S.J., English editor, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, Volume I* (London and Washington, DC: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990): 124-30, esp. 128-29.

<sup>3</sup> For my own evaluation on this matter, see "The Seventh Ecumenical Council in Lived Remembrance," *Essays in Diakonia: Eastern Catholic Theological Reflections* (New York: Peter Lang Publishers, Inc., 1998): 11-21.

<sup>4</sup> Moscow: Russkii put', 1996; Original, Paris: YMCA-Press, 1931.

one and the other there is an indissoluble unity. Unlike the Divine Spirit who enjoys full realization and is totally transparent to itself, human or angelic spirit is *conditioned* existence; it actualizes its potentiality through its nature, in other words, in the *world* that is at one with this nature, i.e., in a world that is non-spirit (see 91 [114]). Conscious of itself as a self-affirming, *self-grounding* being, the human spirit, at the same time, acknowledges that as tied to the earth and *correlative* to it, it is a "*becoming spirit*" (91 [114]), which is also an essential mark of *creatureliness* or being ultimately rooted in the Divine. Casting the act of creation in a personalist mode, Bulgakov perceptively writes that "God's creative act asks, as it were, the creaturely I if it is I, if it has in itself a will to life. And God hears the answering *yes* of the creature" (92 [115]).

The hypostasis of God, the fountainhead of all creation, is trihypostatic personality, as revelation makes clear. As Absolute Spirit, God is totally transparent to himself, and his self-positing is nothing other than total self-giving. In a word, it is *love*; it is *sacrifice*. Notably, Bulgakov develops this basic theological intuition in terms of self-emptying or *kenōsis* whereby the Father lives in ecstatic love, in begetting his Son through whom he "actualizes *His own*, His own hypostatically transparent nature, in the hypostasis of the Son, who is His Word, the 'image of his person' [*hypostasis*] (Heb 1:3)" (98 [121]). For his part, the Son in his response of love to the Father shares in the *kenōsis* of the Father. In the words of Bulgakov, the "Son's love consists in self-depletion in the begottenness from the Father, in the acceptance of birth as begottenness" (99 [122]). In both instances, it must be stressed, the category of sacrifice is not one of limitation, but one of the "authenticity of sacrifice and of its immensity;" it, indeed, bespeaks an incomparable love, which entails "pre-eternal suffering" (99 [122]). Analogous words need to be said about the Holy Spirit, who Bulgakov defines as the "*joy of sacrificial love, the bliss and actualization of this love*" (99 [122]). Thus, the Holy Spirit arises in the context of the mutual love of Father and Son. As Bulgakov states it, the "identity of Father and Son, their self-identification in love, is realized by a hypostatic act: the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father upon the Son (or 'through' the Son)" (100 [123]). In this sense, it is the Holy Spirit that unites the Father and Son thereby constituting the reality of the divine nature. At the same time, however, the Divinity (*divinitas*) in God, Bulgakov stresses, in no way "quaternizes" the trihypostatic Divinity even if nature in God must be distinguished from his personality (97 [120])<sup>5</sup> in accord with his initial ontological axiom.

<sup>5</sup> On this score, Bulgakov, oddly enough, cites the local Latin Council of Reims (1148) against Gilbert de la Porrée: *Divinitas sit Deus, et Deus divinitas* (divinity is God and God is divinity). He also draws attention to the decrees of Lateran IV (1215) in this regard (97n [120n]).

The living God does, indeed, enjoy a proper life, its source being in the divine nature. It is a life of positive *All-unity*, the essence of which is integral wisdom, *Sophia*, the self-revealing content of the Godhead, the Pleroma of the divine ideas. Speaking of this Divine world, which is *Sophia*, Bulgakov affirms that it "contains all that the Holy Trinity reveals about itself in itself," appending that "it is the Image of God in God Himself, the self-Icon of Divinity" (103 [126]). But what is it, then, that guarantees the organicity of this all-concrete multi-unity? Bulgakov directly responds that it is *love*, the love of God that "is not only the linking or uniting force of the all-unity of the Divine world in this world itself, but it is also the link between this world and the hypostatic God" (104 [127]). Grasping how the copula "is" in the instance of the Godhead expresses the ontological link of love, Bulgakov readily affirms that "*God is Sophia* signifies that God, hypostatic love, loves *Sophia*, and that she loves God with an answering, though not hypostatic, love" (104 [127]). Or more simply put, "in *Sophia*, God loves Himself in His self-revelation" (104 [127]). Another articulation of this insight is also possible, namely, that *Sophia*, the Divine Wisdom, "does not merely belong to God, she is God; that is, she *loves* the trihypostatic God" (105 [127]). Expressed otherwise, "*Sophia*, as the divine world, *exists* in God and, in a certain sense, is *present* before God and is *possessed* by Him in all her divine reality and authenticity" (106 [129]).<sup>6</sup>

*Sophia*, however, is not only the Wisdom of God; she is also the Glory of God. This the Scriptures make clear (see, e.g., Job 28, Proverbs 8-9, Wisdom 7-11, Ecclesiastes 1, 1 Cor 1:24 for texts on Wisdom and Jn 1:14, 17:5 for a couple on Glory). Of direct relevance is Bulgakov's explication of the full Trinitarian significance of the doxology at the conclusion of the Our Father as sung in the Byzantine Divine Liturgy (110 [133]). The verse reads: "For Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever, and forever. Amen." The two phrases contained therein are in apposition with the kingdom identified with the Father, the power with the Son, and the glory with the Holy Spirit. There may well be only one divine nature, but each of the Divine Hypostases possesses it in his own way. It follows, therefore, that Divine *Sophia* relates to each Hypostasis in a different way. If the Father, the First Hypostasis, is the source of Divine Wisdom, he speaks his Word of Wisdom in the Son, thus rendering the latter, the Second Hypostasis, the Logos, the *Hypostasis of Wisdom*. In other words, the Logos or Divine Wisdom is the *self-revelation* of God in the Second Hypostasis. On the other hand, the *self-revelation* of God in the Third Hypostasis, the Holy Spirit, is the

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<sup>6</sup> In this discussion, one cannot help but note the analogous use of the term "love." Bulgakov himself acknowledges this.

*Glory* of God. Noting how the "Glory of God expresses the divine self-revelation to His Wisdom," Bulgakov remarks how the "Glory is therefore not the first, but the second in the self-revelation of the Divinity," adding parenthetically that "this is not a chronological but an ontological distinction" (109 [132]). More simply, "Glory is Glory *about* Wisdom" (109 [132]).

At this juncture in his exposition of Divine Sophia, Bulgakov is ready to make a transition from the Divine world of Sophia to how this world impacts on the created order. A new definition of Divine Sophia now comes to the fore. Concerning the "content" of Divine Sophia, Bulgakov asserts that she is the "pan-organism of ideas" (112 [135]), immediately posing the question as to how this particular world can be accessible to human intellection. In answer to his own question, he opines that it is "only through the condescension of the Divine world to the creaturely world" (112 [135]) that this would be possible. In other words, what is at stake is the *self-revelation* of God to the creaturely world, and not the fact of the possibility of *human* ascent into the Divine world. It is precisely this dynamic, Bulgakov pointedly remarks, that founds the possibility of any would-be *kataphatic* theology. Thus, there must be a certain initial identity between God and man that can only come to the fore in the act of *creation* of man. Thus, Bulgakov writes, "man is created by God in 'the image of God' (Gen 1:27), and this image is the *ens realissimum* in man, who thereby becomes a creaturely god" (112 [135]). But if man is the "image of God," correlatively speaking, there must be something in God that reflects man. Indeed, it is "man's very *humanity*, which is the image of God" (113 [136]), as Bulgakov is wont to stress. A fundamental thesis thus presents itself. There must exist a "*co-imageness* between Divinity and humanity" or, in more expansive terms, the "Divine Sophia, as the pan-organism of ideas is the *pre-eternal Humanity in God*, as the divine proto-image and foundation of man's being" (113 [136]).

As the self-revelation of God in Wisdom, it is only logical to characterize the Son as the *Hypostasis of the Divine-Humanity* (*Bogochelovechestvo*) in God.<sup>7</sup> If as St. John writes "in the beginning was the Word; the Word was in God's presence, and the Word was God. He was present to God in the beginning. Through him all things came into being and apart from him nothing came to be" (Jn 1:1-3), we truly can grasp how humanity in the world merely presupposes the Divine-Humanity. Thus, Bulgakov rightfully — and deftly — defines man as the "cryptogram of Divinity" according to the principle "that which is above is also below"

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<sup>7</sup> The term *Bogochelovechestvo* defies ready translation. Recourse to the Greek *Theanthropy* makes the most lexicological sense without, however, rendering the term more transparent. Divine Humanity or the Humanity of God is probably the best English rendering of this term.

("cho vverkhu, to i vnizu") (116 [139]). At the same time, this principle, Bulgakov affirms, grounds the very *sophianicity* ("sofiinost'") of creation itself (117 [140]).

If, as Bulgakov writes, "the creation of the world is a *work* of God, a revelation of God's *fullness*," it is also no less a "revelation of God's love" (130 [152]) and as such is co-present to God as the Creator. Thus, he concludes "even though *in itself* it is creaturely and noneternal, the world, in its relation to the Creator, is co-eternal with God" (130 [153]). This is owing to the preeminence of Christ in all things. His citation of St. Paul in this regard makes this clear: "All things were created by Him [Christ], and for Him; and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist" (Col 1:16-17) (130 [153]).

The relationship of Christ to man, however, takes on singular importance. The image of God in man is clearly the ontological foundation of man's being and founds his inherent dignity. But if man is created in the image of God, he is no less, nay, above all, created in the *image of Christ*, who himself is the prime instance and perfection of this image. In and through Christ, man is, indeed, a "created god" (*sotvorenniy bog*), who cannot but enjoy something of the "uncreated principle, a spark of the Divine spirit" (137 [159]). In summation, for Bulgakov, "ontologically, man is truly bipartite, that he has in himself an uncreated, divine principle, the spirit (the soul), and a created body, animated by the soul – the flesh" (137 [160]).<sup>8</sup>

If man is created in the image of Christ the question as to the foundations of the Incarnation readily comes to the fore. Taking note of the fact that the soteriological interpretation of the Incarnation, namely, that God became Man in order to redeem man from sin, especially holds sway in patristic literature, Bulgakov specifically demurs from this point of view, holding that, to the contrary, the Incarnation is "God's primordial grace" (*iznachal'noe blagovolenie Bozhie*) (169 [192]) and is, indeed, "predetermined before the creation of the world," citing both St. Peter (1 Pt 1:19-20) and St. Paul (1 Cor 2:7, Eph 1:4, 5-6) (168 [191-92]) for scriptural support. He even proffers the bold surmise that "one can even say that God created the world in order to become incarnate in it, that He created it for the sake of His Incarnation" (169 [192]).

At the same time, Bulgakov does not deny the fact that in salvation history the Incarnation was, above all, redemptive; it was without a doubt a means for salvation. But the totality of meaning for the Incarnation is not limited to redemption. Indeed, he stresses that in so restricting the meaning of the Incarnation a "*casus irrealis*" arises that "consists

<sup>8</sup> Of course, in this discussion, Bulgakov skirts the whole question of whether man as a unitary created being must needs also have a created soul.

in supposing that, if man had not sinned, God could have left Himself unincarnated. The Incarnation is thus made dependent on man, and in particular on his fall, on original sin, and, in the final analysis, even on the serpent" (170 [193]). This scenario, of course, is preposterous. The truth is other; the world was created by God for the Incarnation.

But, why?, one may ask. Bulgakov is consistently clear on this point. It is because God is love, and love demands a lavish giving — an outpouring of self — above all, of a Divine Self, the Hypostasis of Love. "In what does the inexorable predeterminedness of the Incarnation consist?," Bulgakov rightfully asks. His response is direct and unequivocal: "Its predeterminedness follows from the general relation of God to the world, which is the outward outpouring of His love for creation," a love that sacrifices itself for the world, indeed, that even makes "God correlative to the world" (171 [194]). Rephrasing himself in a more simple fashion, Bulgakov directly, but no less movingly, writes: "The Incarnation is an act of God not *upon* the world but *in* the world" (172 [196]).

What follows is an anthropological thesis: the "Incarnation is pre-inscribed in man" (173 [196]). In sophiological terms, the sophianicity of man consists in his proto-image being the Divine-Humanity of the Logos or Sophia as the Divine world being reflected in the creation order. In Trinitarian terms, man, the microcosm of the world, was created by the Father through his Word, the Second — *demiurgic* — Hypostasis, who becomes *incarnate* — and most significantly — through the *co-participatory* action of the Holy Spirit, the *cosmourgic* Hypostasis, who, as sent by the Father, descends upon the Virgin Mary from whose flesh the Incarnation is realized. Indeed, it is only through her that the earth could receive heaven, as it were, in her Divine Son. Accordingly, Bulgakov justly affirms, "Divine Maternity [*Bogomaterinstvo*] is the human side of the Incarnation," or, as he expresses it in the paradoxical terms of divine mystery, the "Most Holy Virgin becomes heaven, and Her womb becomes the place of the overshadowing, which also contains the One who is overshadowed: the God-Word who is being begotten" (179 [202]).

Jesus' sonhood is thus complex: he is the "Son of God" and "Son of Man." But in this duality of natures — without separation and without confusion, as established by Chalcedon — the *unity* of Jesus in his Divine-Humanity, as a Divine Person, comes to the fore. Each nature of the Incarnate Word, in other words, retains its autonomous being. But what specifically, then, obtains in the Incarnation, Bulgakov is wont to inquire in the "inhypostatization" of the Logos in the human nature" (184 [207])? For this to be an ontological possibility, there must be a "certain primordial identity" [*nekotoroe iznachal'noe tozhestvo*] between the Divine I of the Logos and the human I" (186 [209]). The Logos is, indeed, as Bulgakov expresses it, the "pre-eternal God-Man as the Proto-Image of the creaturely man" (187 [210]).

With such a heavenly origin, man is clearly summoned to greatness. He is called to become deified, to be a god-man, to be at one with the true God-Man. Accordingly, prior to the coming of Christ in the Incarnation, man was unable to become truly himself, to realize himself fully. In truth, as Bulgakov notes, the "Incarnation is the fulfillment of the human essence" (189 [212]) with the Logos in some real sense being "co-human" (*so-chelovechen*) (186, 189 [209, 215]) with us. Being perfect God, Christ is, for this reason also, true man, the Son of Man. Through him, man has the possibility of being in communion with God. The correlativity of the divine and the human thus comes to the fore: "*humana natura capax divini*" (189 [215]). Man, indeed for Bulgakov, is the "sophianic hypostasis of the world" (*mirovaia softinaia ipostas'*) (187 [210]). If the "Logos is Sophia," as Bulgakov claims, "in the sense that he *has* Sophia as His proper content and life," man no less partakes of Sophia, which is the "heavenly humanity," the "proto-image of the creaturely humanity" (187 [210]).

Returning to his exploration of the meaning of the Incarnation, Bulgakov notes how it is "not only the assumption of man's nature by the hypostasis of the Logos," but "it is also the union of two natures" (193 [219]). How this union is to be understood *ontologically* is the task now before us. Seeking to form some synthetic judgment about the union of natures beyond the four negative definitions of Chalcedon, he notes how the latter eliminate both *total* separation and *total* fusion, meaning, in other words, that what is also being affirmed is a "certain *form* of fusion or identification" and a "certain *form* of differentiation" (195 [220-21]). Remarking how the human nature was predestined to be united with the Logos, Bulgakov stresses that the two natures, then, "must in some way be kindred [*srodny*] to one another," that is, "there must be something mediating or common that serves as the unalterable foundation for their union" (196 [222]). He finds that common ground in their *sophianicity* (*softinost'*) (197 [222]). Harking back to his original insight that there must be a "certain form" of both fusion and differentiation between the heavenly and human orders, Bulgakov observes how the creaturely world is the creaturely image of Divine Sophia, which in itself is the proto-image of the Divine World. Therefore, he concludes the "*relation of identity* between the Divine Sophia and the creaturely Sophia is for this reason just as natural and inevitable as the entire *difference* between eternal, uncreated being and creaturely, becoming being, which has not yet become itself but which will become itself, in order to then become identified with its Proto-Image and attain the fullness of its sophianization or deification" (197 [222-23]).

Based on the model of *kenōsis*, Bulgakov underscores the analogy between the Incarnation and creation. Whereas in the latter, however, we

see the "Divinity's going out of itself into the extradivine domain of creaturely becoming," in the former "God receives creaturely becoming into His own life and thus becomes the *Subject* of this becoming, while preserving the eternal fullness of His proper natural-sophianic essence," proclaiming that "that is what the dogma of the two natures with one hypostasis signifies" (197 [223]). The image of the two natures no less impacts upon creaturely man, who "having his homeland in heaven and not only on earth ... carries within himself the image of the two natures and manifests the noncreaturely Sophia in his creaturely essence" (198 [223]), which ultimately serves as the ground for his deification in accord with his true calling *as man*.<sup>9</sup>

Bulgakov continues his reflections on the full range of import of the Incarnation in a lengthy chapter entitled simply "Emmanuel, the God-Man." It is at this juncture that he explores the full implications of the *kenōsis* that is at the heart and center of the divine humiliation of the Lord. Whereas St. John gives this marvel a virtually, "matter-of-fact" expression ("The Word was made flesh" [Jn 1:14]), St. Paul in Philippians 2:6-8 is truly rhapsodic over the matter. Bulgakov, noting St. Paul's sudden move from moral paraenesis to the sublime heights of theology, can only ask "is it really possible to separate in Christ His earthly, human humiliation from His heavenly divine kenosis, which the descent from heaven and the Incarnation itself represent?" (215 [242]). St. Paul's words, which are nothing less than inspirational, bear repeating: "He [Christ Jesus], being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross" (see 215 [242]).

Clearly what we have before us is not only an earthly event, but truly a heavenly one. We are speaking of the *kenōsis* of God the Word. And Bulgakov cannot underscore the seriousness of this matter more, quite bluntly calling the *kenōsis* of the Incarnation the "*metaphysical* Golgotha of the self-crucifixion of the Logos in time" (232 [260]) that only precedes the historical one as its necessary antecedent. If, as Bulgakov notes, the "creation of the world is a kenotic act of God" in itself, the kenosis of the Son "is revealed in a wholly new way in the humiliation of the Word, who is united with creation, becomes man" (223 [252]).

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<sup>9</sup> In his exposition, Bulgakov also devotes some important pages to how the Incarnation must be understood not only in light of Christ, but also of his Mother who provides his hypostatic humanity. In sum, the Virgin Mary participates in the Incarnation not only by his flesh, but also by her *hypostasis*. There is, thus, a duality in the Incarnation. Two persons are affected. This topic lies beyond the limits of the present study. It merits a separate monographic treatment.



Throughout his presentation, Bulgakov always seems to uphold the "realism," as it were, of the *kenōsis* involved in the Incarnation. If the Son of God truly is the Son of Man, the divine nature must truly participate in all the human actions of the Lord, and "it does so not by abstract assent but by an actual co-experiencing (*so-perezhivanie*)" (261 [291]). Any underestimation of this shared experience of the two natures in Christ only serves to reduce the Incarnation to a mere appearance. The union of the two natures thus cannot be understood statically; they are rather in dynamic interrelation. Considering, then, the passion of Christ, it becomes impossible to speak of the "impassibility of the Divinity in the God-Man" (257 [286]). In a more expansive form, Bulgakov subsequently repeats himself: "In the suffering on the cross we see to what degree the diminution of the Divinity is commensurate with the human measure. The Divinity is diminished to such a degree that it no longer resists death, and although it itself does not die, it co-dies (*so-umiraet*), as it were, with His dying humanity ... Therefore, the God-Man dies in His integral unity in the whole complexity of His composition, but He dies *differently* in His two natures: His humanity dies, and as a result, His human hypostasis passes together with His humanity through the gates of death ... (313 [343-44]).

If the reality of co-experiencing of a duality of energies marks the Person of Christ at the time of his passion and death, it is no less true of all the other moments of his life, especially when we are confronted with the question of Jesus' working of miracles, the question of his ignorance, and the question of his prayer. Bulgakov rails against all the "pseudopapologists" of patristic times who argue that Jesus did what he did in various instances to "demonstrate" His humanity, even though as God, He knew all things" (252 [281]). To his estimation, this type of pseudopapology is the inevitable by-product of any Docetism that would negate the reality of the *kenōsis* involved in the Incarnation. He merely returns to this general theme in his later discussion of the struggles and temptations of Christ (286-303 [316-334]), again pointing to the fundamental error of Docetism or semi-Docetism (Bulgakov finds an instance of this in St. John of Damascus, 292n [322n]).

But in broaching the topic of the force of sin or temptation in Christ, Bulgakov does pose an interesting question: "Could Jesus have succumbed to sin even if in fact He did not succumb to it but overcame it (*potuit non peccare*)? Or was it the case that temptation had no power over Him (*non potuit peccare*) ...? (292 [323]). The possibilities of the Latin puns on words aside, we certainly know that any argument in favor of a thesis to the effect that Jesus as the God-Man could treat the temptations *only* as God, as if he did not exist as a Man, is certainly docetist in formulation, and therefore unworthy of consideration. As *Man*,

he surely *was* subject to temptation, *even if* he did *not* — *could* not — succumb to it as the God-Man. In sum, only a *kenotic* point of view can hold sway: “the God-Man receives the temptation directly as such ... but He receives it only in the measure of His humanity” (293 [324]). In sum, one can go along with the Latin pun: *non potuit peccare* simply because *potuit non peccare* (see 294 [324]).

All puns aside however, a fundamental thesis comes to the fore as a basic *truth* for Bulgakov: “the kenosis of Divinity is also the apotheosis of humanity. Christ is the God-bearing man and the in-humanized God” (239 [267]). This basic truth can only lead us to consider his basic *work* as the God-Man. On this score, Bulgakov concludes his Christological treatise. The work or ministry of Christ is, of course, classically known and discussed under three headings, namely, his prophetic, priestly, and royal ministries. Citing St. John, Bulgakov notes how Christ’s work on earth was central to his life mission: “I have glorified thee [the Father] on earth: I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do” (John 17:4) (321 [351]). It, thus, should not be viewed in some extrinsicist or matter-of-fact way; it is rather at one with his *being* the God-Man. In other words, the threefold Office of Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King is a *divine-human* work.

In regard to his discussion of Christ’s prophetic ministry, two points, above all, stand out. First is his stress on the very *Person* of Christ being at the center of this witness. In the words of Bulgakov, “the essence and chief content of Christ’s prophetic ministry are not His words and discourses but He Himself, His living image as preserved in the Gospels” (327 [358]). Second is Bulgakov’s characterization of Christ’s prophetic ministry as being one not only of preaching, but of the working of miracles as well. His words about Christ’s miracles are truly insightful: “Christ’s miracles are not works of God accomplished *over* the world but the action of the God-Man *in* the world by God’s power” (333 [363]). They are primarily meant for the spiritual enhancement of man, that is, for his eventual deification.

Just as at his baptism when Christ is acknowledged by the Father to be his Anointed One and, thus, is enabled to begin his prophetic ministry, so does a similar theophany take place at his transfiguration wherein he is anointed, as it were, anew, but this time for his high-priestly ministry. He now begins his preparation for his entry into Jerusalem and his ultimate giving of self in sacrifice on the Cross. But significantly, in Bulgakov’s exposition of this pivotal theme in the life of the God-Man, he not only notes, but *concentrates* on the antecedent and subsequent mysteries that are at one with priestly ministry. As to the former, he brings out the priestly dimension in evidence in the Incarnation, writing that the “Incarnation itself, as the redemptive sacrifice of the reconciliation

of the world with God, is already the Son's offering of Himself in sacrifice, that is, it is the acceptance of the high-priestly ministry" (336 [366]). The Lord's transfiguration, precisely as a manifestation of glory at the same time serves as a prefigurement of his ultimate glorification, also attested to in both his holy resurrection and ascension that are no less manifest moments of his priestly ministry. "From the grave to the Resurrection and from the Resurrection to the Ascension," Bulgakov observes, "the path is the same: to the Father's glorification of the Son" (391 [419-20]).

Lastly, Bulgakov proffers a number of interesting thoughts relative to Christ's royal ministry. He begins by criticizing those who would hold that Christ's miracle-working and his moments of glorification in the Resurrection, the descent into hell, and the Ascension belong to the royal ministry. Noting that the Lord was, indeed, born into the world "as King on the throne of David" (411 [439]), he goes on to state that "there is only one event where the Lord manifested His royal magnificence in the days of His earthly ministry: this is His *royal entry* into Jerusalem", affirming that this triumphal entry enjoys a "prefigurative significance in relation to the coming Kingdom of Christ" (413 [441]). Stating that the "Incarnation is already the beginning of the coming of Christ's Kingdom" (413 [444]), at the same time he holds that the "royal ministry, however, begins and is accomplished only after Christ's departure from the world, that is, after the Ascension" (419 [446-47]), demurring that although "Christ is the King in the world," he nonetheless "does not reign in it in the fullness of the Kingdom of God." In effect, therefore, "He is still *being enthroned* in the world" (419 [447]). This points to the essentially *eschatological* character of this ministry.

Speaking of this divine-human ministry of Christ, Bulgakov makes an important *global* assessment of this royal work in regard to *history* itself. "The history of humankind after Christ is not only the history of Christian humankind but also the history of Christ's humankind. Christ's power, actualized by the Holy Spirit, unifies all of human history and makes it the apocalypse, or revelation, of Christ" (431 [459]). Thus, characterizing all history as *Christian* history, Bulgakov can only affirm that the Church of Christ is nothing but the "inner entelechy" (*vnutrenniaia tseleprichinnost'*) (432 [460]) of world history.

The last word of Bulgakov's Christology as had in his consideration of Christ's royal ministry is, thus, "pan-Christism" (*pan-khristizm*) (435 [463]). Under this rubric, one can truly hope for the "humanization of the world" that only "refers to the manifestation of man's royal ministry in virtue of his participation in that of Christ" (437 [465]). It is a work in progress; the Lord is being continually enthroned for his Kingdom. Bulgakov's last word is, thus, his first word: "*Thy Kingdom come! And we call out to the Son: Even so, come, Lord Jesus!*" (441 [468]).

From this exposition, one can gather that a fully positive and appreciative reading of Bulgakov's Christology, in spite of standard *negative* Orthodox critiques of his sophiological enterprise in the various fields of theology, is possible. It is, indeed, ironic that whereas Bulgakov himself never seems to tire of taking carping shots at Catholic theology, if there truly is to be a revival — not to say a rehabilitation — of Bulgakov's thought in Orthodoxy, it may well be due to *Catholic* evaluations of his speculative philosophy and theology.<sup>10</sup> On two substantive points in the overall theological picture, *The Lamb of God* may be found wanting from a specifically Catholic point of view on two points — but on matters, less yes than no, directly impacting on Christology — namely, his forthright rejection (but with some provisos) of the "Catholic" dogma of the Immaculate Conception and on philosophical matters regarding the Creator-creature relationship. These issues of disagreement between the best of Catholic thought and Bulgakov's interpretation (largely erroneous) of it have not been treated here, but have been extensively discussed by me elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> The fact of the matter is, is that Bulgakov's overriding emphasis in his theology is on its *ontological* underpinnings, something he *shares* with Catholic theology, but something, he never fully grasps due to his "prejudice" — typical of the Orthodox — that is wont to give Catholic theology a solely *juridical* casting. Reading the depths of Catholic theology *from within* and, then, listening to Bulgakov's carping can only annoy a Catholic philosopher and theologian.

On the other hand, it is, indeed, Bulgakov's *ontological* perspective throughout his theological corpus that can only *inspire* the Catholic reader. On the one hand, however, he — along with many a fellow Orthodox — does not understand the *ontological* roots of the Catholic dogma of the Immaculate Conception — the fact that it is, indeed, a *sophiological* mystery: the Wisdom of God, the *Primacy of Christ*, reigns in all things, or, in the words of Duns Scotus, "*potuit, decuit, fecit*" (it could be, it was fitting, it was done).

As to the other "Catholic" matter, where Bulgakov's speculations are truly at one with "Catholic" thought, it is that of *Divine Humanity* (Theanthropy, Godmanhood). Significantly — and unbeknownst to Bulgakov — we return to the *theme* of the *Primacy of Christ* in all things. He

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<sup>10</sup> Apart from my own modest contributions (see, e.g., "Bulgakov on Sophia," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 59 (3-4) (2007) 131-145), see, among others, Aidan Nichols, O.P., *Wisdom from Above: A Primer in the Theology of Father Sergei Bulgakov* (Herefordshire: Gracewing, 2005) and Luigi Razzano, *L'estasi del bello nella sofologia di S.N. Bulgakov* (The ecstasy of the beautiful in the sophiology of S.N. Bulgakov) (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> See "Sergius Bulgakov on the Glorification of the Mother of God," OCP 73 (2007) 97-116, and "Bulgakov's Sophiological Conception of Creation," OCP 74 (2008) 443-454.

is the Logos; he is the God-Man. But he is also the *Son of Man*. And, so, it would seem there is a certain *correlation* between God and man, as evidenced in the God-Man himself, Jesus Christ, which is the very *truth* Bulgakov is trying to convey. And, so, to the very classic "Catholic" question: *Cur Deus Homo*? Bulgakov is wont to render the opinion that Catholic theologians along with other Orthodox answer the question solely in terms of the *redemption* of mankind owing to the sin of Adam. Bulgakov's answer — his profoundly *Catholic* answer — is other: God became man because he *created* man. In other words, the Incarnation is *at one* with Creation. With this word, there is clearly a *correspondence* — indeed, a *unity* — between Catholic and *Orthodox* theology. This is surely one point in Bulgakov's *kataphatic* theology.

On this note, a *Catholic* response to the "Debate over Sophia" in *Orthodox* circles is possible. The very first footnote of this study draws attention to this issue. Here father and son, Nicholas and Vladimir Lossky, are in full accord. The theologian son follows the insights of his philosopher father, who, indeed, is an esteemed philosopher. In the "Debate over Sophia," it is Nicholas Lossky who sets the terms of the debate, with his son Vladimir grasping the *truth* at stake, namely, the *primacy* of apophatic over kataphatic theology in all matters theological. *But* — and this is a major proviso — *kataphatic* theology still has its role to play: God *became* Man. That *must* mean something from the *human* point of view. And, indeed, the fundamental *thesis* or, better yet, *axiom* of Bulgakov expresses this *truth* best: "the kenosis of Divinity is also the apotheosis of humanity" (239 [267]). Christology, indeed, entails a theological anthropology. Bulgakov's wonderful synthesis of Logos and kenosis Christologies<sup>12</sup> only serves to shed greater light on this most basic insight of Christian thought.

## SUMMARY

Bulgakov's Christological treatise is both an exposition and celebration of Divine-Humanity (*Bogochelovechestvo*). Taking as his point of departure the negative formulations of Chalcedon in regard to the two natures of Christ — "without confusion, without change, without division, without separation" — Bulgakov aspires to proffer a positive — kataphatic — articulation of the same. His "sophiological" Christology is premised on the ontological preconditions for the Incarnation that entail an eternal *kenōsis* of the Father in the act of creation that culminates in the in-hypostatization of the Logos in the Incarnation — a "primordial grace" — irrespective of the sin of Adam and man's subsequent redemption.

Bulgakov's Christology is thus an admirable synthesis of Logos and kenotic Christologies. Moreover, it entails a theological anthropology that only explicates his fundamental

<sup>12</sup> For a Catholic exposition of these two modes of Christology, see Walter (now Cardinal) Kasper, *The God of Jesus Christ* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Co., 1989) 184-97.

intuition on the “co-imageness” between Divinity and humanity, namely, that “the kenosis of Divinity is also the apotheosis of humanity,” man thereby being the “cryptogram of Divinity.” His ontological frame of reference links him to the best of Catholic theological thought.

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# La citazione di Is 53 nella *Prima Clementis*

## 1. L'importanza della lettera

L'importanza della lettera di Clemente Romano ai Corinzi o *Prima Clementis* (1Clem)<sup>1</sup> è legata alla sua antichità, in quanto databile entro il I secolo d.C., e costituisce pertanto un'ulteriore preziosa fonte, accanto ai testi canonici del Nuovo Testamento, per la conoscenza del cristianesimo delle origini. È una lettera della Chiesa di Roma alla Chiesa di Corinto<sup>2</sup>, scritta allo scopo di portare i cristiani di quella Chiesa a eliminare la sedizione contro i presbiteri costituiti. In questo contesto, il poema del *Servo sofferente* di Is 53,1-12 fa per la prima volta la sua completa comparsa in un testo cristiano<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Viene chiamata comunemente *Prima Clementis* per distinguerla da una seconda lettera, attribuita anch'essa a Clemente Romano (cf. Eusebio, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III,38,4), perché trascritta di seguito nei tre codici che l'hanno tramandata (*Codex Alexandrinus*, *Codex Hierosolymitanus*, un codice siriano). L'autenticità della 2Clem venne contestata subito dopo la sua prima stampa: F. X. Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, I, Tübingae 1901, XXXII-LIV.

<sup>2</sup> Alcuni studiosi, come K. Bihlmeyer, *Die apostolischen Väter*, I, Tübingen 1924, XXVII, e W. Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom*. Literarische Untersuchungen zu Philo und Clemens von Alexandria, Justin und Iräneus, Göttingen 1915, 311, pensano che la prima parte della lettera sia una raccolta di brani indipendenti, provenienti da omelie e scritti meno importanti. L. Lemarchand, «La composition de l'Épître de Saint Clément aux Corinthiens», in *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 18 (1938) 448-457, conclude che la lettera nella sua redazione attuale conserva i più antichi frammenti di discorso, rivolti a una comunità cristiana. Certamente la lettera è stata scritta da un solo autore, ma, essendo una lettera ufficiale, probabilmente riflette anche le varie culture presenti nel presbiterio romano.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. le edizioni critiche di C. T. Schaefer, *S. Clementis Romani Epistola ad Corinthios quae vocatur prima graece et latine*, Bonn 1941; A. Jaubert, *Clément de Rome. Épître aux Corinthiens*, in SC 167, Paris 1971. Per una traduzione e commento di tutta la lettera, cfr J. B. Lightfoot, *The apostolic Fathers* (I. S. Clement of Rome), II, London 1890; A. von Harnack, *Einführung in die alte Kirchengeschichte*. Das Schreiben der römischen Kirche an die Korinthische aus der Zeit Domitians (I. Clemensbrief), Leipzig 1929; J. A. Kleist, *The epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch*, Westminster 1946; A. Lindemann, *Die Clemensbriefe* (HNT, 17), Tübingen 1992; J. J. A. Calvo, *Clemente de Roma. Carta a los Corintios*. Homilía anónima (Segunda Clementis), Madrid 1994; H. E. Lona, *Der erste Clemensbrief*. Übersetzt und erklärt (KAV, 2), Göttingen 1998; E. Peretto, *Clemente Romano. Lettera ai Corinzi*, Bologna 1999. Cf. anche G. Pani, «Il concetto di ἐμετρεία nella struttura della *Prima Clementis*», in *Studia Patristica* 36 (2001) 282-292; E. Cattaneo, «Un nuovo passo

Clemente fa esplicito ricorso al poema del *Servo sofferente* per supportare scritturisticamente uno dei temi principali della lettera, ossia la sottomissione e l'umiltà, condizione *sine qua non* per essere cristiani. Ciò rivela forse la peculiarità di Is 53 nella teologia dell'autore, come sembra confermare, oltre la lunghezza della citazione, anche la formula senza precedenti con cui essa è introdotta. È probabile, inoltre, che la 1Clem sia il testimone privilegiato di una tradizione — riconducibile alla comunità cristiana di Roma — che ha accolto il tema del *Servo* nella propria riflessione teologica. Ma prima di chiarire queste problematiche occorre cercare di precisare la datazione della lettera, perché ciò ha ripercussioni sul quadro generale che vogliamo tracciare.

## 2. La datazione della lettera

L'opinione comune degli studiosi fissa la composizione della 1Clem alla fine del principato di Domiziano, cioè nel 96 d.C. Una piccola minoranza<sup>4</sup> propende invece per una datazione più alta, cioè fine 69 o inizio 70. I criteri interni, infatti, portano più in questa direzione. L'unico avvenimento storicamente databile richiamato dalla lettera è la persecuzione contro i cristiani scatenata da Nerone a Roma nel 64. Poco dopo quella data deve essere posto il martirio degli apostoli Pietro e Paolo, anch'esso ricordato (1Clem 5-6). Ora, questi martiri sono chiamati «atleti di un tempo *vicinissimo* a noi [...], nobili esempi della nostra generazione» (1Clem 5,1). Se fossimo nel 96 sarebbero passati più di trent'anni e sarebbe improprio usare il superlativo «*vicinissimo*» o dire «della nostra generazione».

Dopo l'assassinio di Nerone, nel giugno del 68, l'Italia intera fu sconvolta da diciotto mesi di anarchia, dovuta alla lotta per il potere, con l'ascesa e l'uccisione di tre imperatori: Galba, Ottone e Vitellio. Solo con Vespasiano Roma e l'Italia ritrovarono la tranquillità. Probabilmente a queste circostanze fa allusione 1Clem 1,1, dove la Chiesa di Roma si scusa con quella di Corinto per non essere intervenuta più tempestivamente «a causa delle improvvise sventure e disgrazie che si sono abbattute su di noi l'una dopo l'altra», al punto che per un certo periodo fu impossibile alla Chiesa di Roma mettersi in contatto con quella di Corinto. Pensando

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della *Prima Clementis*. La grande ammonizione di 58,2-59,2a. – La *Prima Clementis* come un caso di *corruptio fraterna*», in Ph. Luisier (a cura di), *Studi su Clemente Romano*, Roma 2003, 57-103 (bibliografia 104-105).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. per tutti T. J. Herron, *The Dating of the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. The Theological Basis of the Major View*, Rome 1988; R. Minnerath, *De Jérusalem à Rome. Pierre et l'unité de l'Église Apostolique*, Paris 1994, soprattutto 449-471.551-584.



al periodo di Domiziano, supposto che una persecuzione ci sia stata<sup>5</sup>, si è trattato di interventi contro singole persone e comunque non tali da spiegare l'impossibilità di comunicazioni lamentata da Clemente.

Un altro degli argomenti interni addotti per questa datazione è la menzione del culto che si svolge al Tempio di Gerusalemme (1Clem 40). Ora, dopo la distruzione del Tempio da parte dei Romani nell'estate del 70 difficilmente un autore, anche non giudeo, avrebbe potuto parlare del culto gerosolimitano, ignorando quella terribile catastrofe.

Inoltre, la 1Clem cita espressamente alcuni "detti" (λόγια) di Gesù (1Clem 13,1-2; 46,7-8), ma non conosce ancora la loro redazione canonica (Vangeli di Matteo e Luca), cosa che sarebbe inverosimile a Roma nel 96 d.C.

Per quanto riguarda i criteri esterni, la cronologia proposta da Eusebio di Cesarea nella sua *Storia ecclesiastica* pone l'episcopato di Clemente nel dodicesimo anno di Domiziano, cioè nel 93 d.C. Identifica poi questo Clemente con quello menzionato da Paolo nella lettera ai Filippesi (Fil 4,3), databile tra il 56 e il 62 d.C. e lo riconosce autore della lettera della Chiesa di Roma a quella di Corinto<sup>6</sup>. Non dice, però, quando quella lettera fu scritta. Una fonte di Eusebio è certamente Ireneo di Lione, che nomina Clemente come terzo, dopo Lino e Anacleto, ad avere ottenuto l'episcopato nella Chiesa di Roma a partire dagli Apostoli<sup>7</sup>. Ireneo, però, non stabilisce una cronologia esterna di riferimento e neppure afferma che Clemente sia l'autore della lettera, ma che essa è stata scritta «sotto questo Clemente». In ogni caso, anche se Clemente non è l'immediato successore di Pietro, è attestata la sua presenza a Roma già dagli inizi degli anni sessanta, perché, come scrive Ireneo, «egli aveva visto gli apostoli stessi [Pietro e Paolo] e si era incontrato con loro e aveva ancora nelle orecchie la loro predicazione e davanti agli occhi la loro tradizione»<sup>8</sup>. Non conoscendo bene come si sia organizzata la prima comunità cristiana di Roma, questi dati forniti dalla critica esterna appaiono quanto mai incerti. L'unica cosa che ci pare sicura è la presenza a Roma di Clemente già a partire dagli anni sessanta sino alla fine del primo secolo. Quale fosse il suo specifico ruolo in tutto questo lungo periodo resta difficile da definire, anche se è pure certo che ebbe un ruolo di *episkopé*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. L. W. Barnard, «Clement of Rome and the Persecution of Domitian», in *New Testament Studies* 10/2 (1964) 251-260; R. Cristofoli, «Domiziano e la cosiddetta persecuzione del 95», in *Vetera Christianorum* 45 (2008) 67-90, soprattutto 74-75.

<sup>6</sup> Eusebio, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III,15-16.

<sup>7</sup> Ireneo, *Adversus haereses* III,3,3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

In conclusione, ci sentiamo di dare la preferenza ai criteri di critica interna, che convergono sulla data dell'inizio 70 d.C., quando la delegazione romana, formata da Claudio, Efebo, Valerio Vito e Fortunato poté recarsi a Corinto, portando la lettera della Chiesa di Roma (cf. 1Clem 65,1).

### 3. *Il poema del Servo (Is 52,13-53,12)*

Nella seconda parte del libro del profeta Isaia, detto Deutero-Isaia (Is 40-55), gli esegeti sono soliti distinguere quattro poemi o canti (Is 42,1-4; 49,1-6; 50,4-9; 52,13-53,12), che hanno una loro propria struttura interna e raccontano la storia di una figura misteriosa, comunemente denominata "il Servo di Yhwh"<sup>9</sup>. Di questi quattro poemi, il cosiddetto "Canto del servo sofferente" (Is 52,13-53,12) ha una sua fisionomia particolare. La vocazione profetica di questo *Servo* non è lì narrata in prima persona (racconto autobiografico), né alla terza persona (prospettiva narrativa), ma da un *noi* non meglio specificato, che forma il gruppo dei testimoni di una vicenda singolare, nella quale si realizza in modo sorprendente e paradossale la missione affidata da Dio al suo *Servo*. Questo quarto canto sembra aver rivestito un ruolo particolare negli scritti neotestamentari: non di rado esso è citato nel NT<sup>10</sup>, mentre degli altri canti solo Is 42,1-4 è presente in Mt 12,18-21 e Is 49,6 in At 13,47. Da notare, ancora, che probabilmente gli autori del NT spesso alludono al poema del *Servo sofferente*<sup>11</sup> e anche nella prima letteratura cristiana il quarto canto è ben presente<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, Göttingen 1892.1922<sup>4</sup>.1967<sup>5</sup>. Sulla scia di P. A. H. De Boer, *Second Isaiah's Message*, Leiden 1956, la tesi del Dhum è stata contestata da T. N. T. Mettinger, *A Farewell to the Servant Songs. A Critical Examination of an Exegetical Axiom*, Lund 1983; W. A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja*, IIA, Nijkerk 1983, 106-117; IIB, 185-197; G. F. Knight, *Servant Theology. A Commentary on the Book of Isaiah 40-55*, Edinburgh 1984. Sulla figura del *Servo* deuteroisaiano, la sua problematicità e il suo mistero cf. S. Manfredi, «Problematività della figura del "Servo" in Isaia 53», in P. Coda - M. Crociata (a cura di), *Il Crocifisso e le religioni. Compassione di Dio e sofferenza dell'uomo nelle religioni monoteiste*, Roma 2002, 11-28.

<sup>10</sup> Is 52,15 = Rm 15,21; Is 53,1 = Gv 12,38 e Rm 10,16; Is 53,4 = Mt 8,17 e 1Pt 2,24; Is 53,6 = 1Pt 2,25; Is 53,7-8a = At 8,32-33; Is 53,9 = 1Pt 2,22 e Ap 14,5; Is 53,12d = Lc 22,37; Is 53,12e = Eb 9,28.

<sup>11</sup> Ne conta ben 47, tra citazioni e allusioni, l'edizione critica di E. Nestle - K. Aland et alii, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, Stuttgart 1993, 792.

<sup>12</sup> Dopo Clemente Romano, ricorre a Is 53 Giustino, *Apologia I* 50,2.3-11; 51,1-5; 52,3, in C. Munier, *Apologie pour les Chrétiens*, in SC 507, Paris 2006, 259-265; *Dialogo con Trifone* 13,3-7 (cf. anche 32,1.2; 36,6; 42,2; 43,3; 49,2; 63,2; 68,4; 72,3; 76,2; 85,1; 89,3; 90,1; 95,3; 97,2; 102,7; 111,3; 114,2; 116,3; 118,1.4; 126,1; 137,1), in G. Visonà (a cura di), *Giustino. Dialogo con Trifone*, Milano 1988, 116-119; cf. D. P. Bailey, «Our Suffering and Crucified

Tralasciando in questa breve dissertazione la problematicità e il mistero legati a questa particolare e straordinaria figura del Servo del Signore<sup>13</sup>, ci proponiamo di rilevare la valenza della lunga citazione di Is 53 nella 1Clem. La domanda che ci poniamo è se il richiamo di questo brano scritturistico da parte della Chiesa di Roma sia meramente occasionale o se rifletta, invece, la grande rilevanza che nella comunità petrina o gerosolimitano-romana il suddetto testo veterotestamentario aveva nella predicazione e nella riflessione cristologica. Gli studiosi generalmente riconoscono l'influsso di Is 53 in testi come l'inno pre-paolino di Fil 2,5-11, il detto attribuito al Battista in Gv 1,29.36, soprattutto il *loghion* del riscatto di Mc 10,45 (= Mt 20,28; cf. Lc 22,27)<sup>14</sup>. Ma forse non

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Messiah" (Dial. 111.2). Justin Martyr's Allusions to Isaiah 53 in His Dialogue with Trypho with Special Reference to the New Edition of M. Marcovich», in B. Janowski - P. Stuhlmacher (edited by), *The Suffering Servant. Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources*, Cambridge 2004, 323-417. Citazioni o allusioni si trovano anche in: *Epistula Barnabae* 5,2 (F. X. Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, I, 50-51); Gregorio Nazianzeno, *Oratio* XLV,24 (PG 36,655); Ireneo, *Adversus haereses* IV,23,2 (PG 7,1048); Basilio, *Regulae fusius tractatae* II,4 (PG 31,915-916). Is 53 è presente anche nella letteratura apocrifa (*Atti di Pietro* 20,4; 24,1; *Apocalisse di Pietro* 27, in L. Moraldi, *Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, II, Casale Monferrato 1994, 82; *ibid.*, III, 350). Per uno sguardo complessivo dell'utilizzo del quarto canto di Isaia nella letteratura cristiana delle origini cf. J. Allenbach, *Biblia patristica. Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique. Des origines à Clement d'Alexandrie et Tertullien*, Paris 1975, 153-156; R. Gelio, «Isaia 52,13 - 53,12 nella patrologia primitiva (I)», in F. Vattioni (a cura di), *Sangue e antropologia biblica nella patristica*, I, Roma 1982, 119-148; (II) in Id. (a cura di), *Sangue e antropologia nella letteratura cristiana*, I, Roma 1983, 425-448; B. S. Childs, *The Struggle to Understand Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, Cambridge 2004; R. L. Wilken, *Isaiah interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators*, Cambridge 2007, 412-430.

<sup>13</sup> Dalla domanda dell'eunuco di At 8,26-40, è sempre riaffiorata la problematica relativa all'identità del Servo sofferente. Cf. L. Alonso Schökel - J. L. Sicre Díaz, *I Profeti*, Roma 1989, 377; G. D. Kirchhevel, *Who's Who and What's What in Isaiah 53*, in *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 13/1 (2003) 127-131.

<sup>14</sup> H. Conzelmann, *Teologia del Nuovo Testamento*, Brescia 1972, 119, ritiene che sia stata l'esegesi dei primi cristiani a riferire i canti del Signore alla persona di Gesù di Nazareth. È la tesi di M. D. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant. The influence of the Servant concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament*, London 1959, e di R. Bultmann, *Das Verhältnis der urchristlichen Christusbotschaft zum historischen Jesus*, Heidelberg 1960, 11. Da parte sua, G. Barth, *Il significato della morte di Gesù Cristo*, Torino 1995, 84-88, è convinto che i canti del Servo e soprattutto Is 53 sono da escludere per quanto riguarda la comprensione della morte di Gesù come espiazione vicaria. La maggioranza dei critici, tuttavia, ritiene che il NT, applicando i canti del Servo a Gesù, abbia seguito l'interpretazione che egli stesso ha dato alla sua propria missione. Tra i più convinti: J. Jeremias, «παῖς θεοῦ», in *Grande Lessico del NT* IX, 426-440; C. T. Craig, «The identification of Jesus with the suffering Servant», in *Journal of Religion* 24 (1944) 240-245; J. W. Bowmann, «Jesus and the suffering Servant. A Reply», in *Journal of Religion* 25 (1945) 56-58; O. Cullmann, «Gesù servo di Dio», in *Protestantesimo* 3 (1948) 49-58; E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht. Untersuchungen zur urchristlichen Verkündigung vom Suhtod Jesu Christi*, Göttingen 1955, 104-110; T. W. Manson, *The Servant Messiah. A Study of the public Ministry of Jesus*, Cambridge 1953. Merita

si è data sufficiente importanza all'influsso del suddetto tema nella predicazione petrina, come vedremo più avanti.

#### 4. Is 53 in 1Clem 16,3-14

Diamo anzitutto una nostra traduzione del passo della lettera:

«[16,1] Il Cristo è di coloro  
che nutrono-sentimenti-di-umiltà (ταπεινοφροσύνη),  
e non di coloro che si innalzano  
sopra il suo gregge.

[16,2] Il Signore Gesù Cristo,  
scettro della maestà di Dio<sup>15</sup>,  
non venne con pompa di arroganza e di superbia,  
sebbene lo potesse,  
ma con-sentimenti-di-umiltà (ταπεινοφρονῶν),  
come parlò di lui lo Spirito Santo.

Dice infatti: [16,3]

*Is 53,1 Signore, chi credette al nostro racconto?*

*E il braccio di Signore a chi è stato rivelato?*

*53,2 Annunciammo davanti a lui,  
come fanciullino, come radice in terra assetata:  
non ha aspetto né gloria.*

*E noi lo vedemmo:*

*e non aveva né aspetto né bellezza,  
53,3 ma la sua sembianza era spregevole,  
mancante rispetto alla sembianza degli uomini;  
essendo uomo nella piaga e nel dolore  
e che sa di sopportare infermità.*

*Poiché il suo volto è stato sfigurato,  
fu disprezzato e non considerato.*

[16,4] *53,4 Costui porta i nostri peccati,  
e per causa nostra è nella sofferenza,  
e noi lo considerammo essere nella fatica,  
nella piaga e nel maltrattamento.*

[16,5] *53,5 Egli invece fu ferito a causa dei nostri peccati  
e fu reso infermo a causa delle nostre iniquità.*

*La correzione della nostra pace è su di lui;  
per la sua ferita noi siamo stati guariti.*

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di essere richiamato qui P.-P. Bonnard, *Le Second Isaïe*. Son disciple et leurs éditeurs. Isaïe 40-66, Paris 1972, 53-56 soprattutto 280-284, il quale non ha dubbi nel dichiarare che Gesù «a accompli la mission du Serviteur à la perfection et en plénitude»; e Gesù stesso avrebbe fatto l'applicazione della figura del *Servo* alla sua persona. Cf. anche la recensione di A. Penna, in *Rivista Biblica Italiana* 23 (1975) 98.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. S. Sanna, «Nota su 1Clementis 16,2: "Lo scettro della maestà Dio"», in *Augustinianum* 48 (2008) 7-14.

[16,6] <sup>53,6</sup>Tutti come pecore ci siamo sbandati,  
ognuno si è sbandato per la propria strada.

[16,7] E il Signore lo consegnò per i nostri peccati,

<sup>53,7</sup>e lui, nell'essere maltrattato, non aprì bocca;

fu condotto come pecora al macello

e come un agnello muto davanti al tosatore,

così non aprì la sua bocca.

<sup>53,8</sup>Nell'umiliazione (ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει) il suo giudizio fu innalzato.

[16,8] Chi narrerà la sua generazione?

Poiché è innalzata dalla terra la sua vita.

[16,9] Per le iniquità del mio popolo va alla morte.

[16,10] <sup>53,9</sup>E darò i malvagi in cambio della sua sepoltura

e i ricchi in cambio della sua morte.

Poiché non commise ingiustizia

né fu trovato inganno nella sua bocca.

[16,11] <sup>53,10</sup>E il Signore vuole purificarlo dalla piaga.

Se date [offerte] per i peccati,

la vostra anima vedrà un seme longevo.

[16,12] E il Signore vuole togliere <sup>53,11</sup>la fatica della sua anima,

mostrare a lui luce

e plasmare nella coscienza,

giustificare il giusto che si fa servo di molti,

ed egli porterà i loro peccati.

[16,13] <sup>53,12</sup>Per questo erediterà molti,

e dividerà il bottino dei forti,

perché la sua anima fu consegnata alla morte,

e fu computato tra gli empi.

[16,14] Egli invece portò i peccati di molti,

e fu consegnato a causa dei loro peccati.

[16,15] E di nuovo Egli dice:

Io sono verme e non uomo,

obbrobrio degli uomini e rifiuto del popolo.

[16,16] Tutti quelli che mi hanno visto mi hanno deriso,

hanno parlato con le labbra, hanno scosso il capo:

"Ha sperato nel Signore: lo liberi, lo salvi,

poiché gli è caro" [Sal 21 (22), 7-9].

[16,17] Vedete, carissimi, qual è il modello (ὁποῦραμμός) datoci!

Se infatti il Signore così ebbe-sentimenti-di-umiltà (ἐταπεινοφρόνησεν),

che cosa dovremo fare noi,

che per mezzo suo siamo giunti sotto il giogo della sua grazia?».

Poiché la fonte utilizzata dalla 1Clem nel citare il testo di Is 53 è la Bibbia greca detta dei Settanta (LXX), facciamo anzitutto un confronto tra il Testo Masoretico (TM)<sup>16</sup> e questa versione<sup>17</sup>, che si rivela come una

<sup>16</sup> Sui problemi di critica testuale relativi alla trasmissione di Is 53 va detto che trattasi di modeste correzioni, dal momento che le varianti non rilevano, in generale, difficoltà tali da alterare il senso del messaggio. Cf. la segnalazione di incertezze e precisazioni testuali in

vera e propria rilettura del poema, non solo per l'interpretazione collettiva datagli<sup>18</sup>, ma soprattutto per la spiritualizzazione del testo e per la tendenza ad attenuare i tratti della sofferenza fisica:

*Is 53,4*: TM *le nostre sofferenze* (ἡδὴν); LXX *i nostri peccati* (τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν);

*Is 53,5b*: TM *fu coperto di lividure* (bahāḥurātō); LXX *fu reso infermo* (μεμαλᾱκισται);

*Is 53,8c*: TM *fu recisa [la sua vita]* (nigzar); LXX *è innalzata [la sua vita]* (αἴρεται)<sup>19</sup>;

*Is 53,10a*: TM *nello spezzare* (dak'ō); LXX *purificare* (καθαρίσαι).

Inoltre, in *Is 53,8* l'espressione τοῦ λαοῦ μου, che è l'esatta traduzione dell'ebraico 'ammy, e soprattutto, subito dopo, la presenza del verbo δώσω (*Is 53,9*), il cui soggetto sembra proprio *Io-il Signore*, fanno sì che l'intervento di Dio nei LXX venga anticipato qui; per poi nel v. 10 assistere nuovamente al cambio di soggetto con i verbi alla terza persona singolare, introdotti dall'espressione καὶ Κύριος, segno che è un nuovo soggetto a parlare. Eliminando, inoltre, l'inclusione παῖς μου, la LXX pone notevoli problemi per la suddivisione del poema: il primo intervento di Dio è senza dubbio all'inizio del canto (*Is 52,13*: ἰδοὺ ... ὁ παῖς μου), con l'eliminazione rispetto al TM del verbo *yarūm* (*sorgerà*)<sup>20</sup>, rendendo l'endiadi

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E. Franco, «La morte del Servo sofferente in *Is. 53*», in Aa.Vv., *Gesù e la sua morte*. Atti della XXVII settimana biblica, Brescia 1984, 223-225, e M. Dahood, «Isaia 53,8-12 e le erronee costruzioni masoretiche», in *Sangue e antropologia biblica nella patristica*, I, Roma 1982, 149-154.

<sup>17</sup> La trasmissione testuale della LXX non rileva sostanziali difficoltà e problemi. Cf. E. R. Ekblad, *Isaiah's Servant Poems according to the Septuagint*. An Exegetical and Theological Study, London 1999, 167-266; O. Hofius, «Zur Septuaginta Übersetzung von Jes 52,13b», in *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 104 (1992) 107-110.

<sup>18</sup> Ciò lo si evince dall'aggiunta in *Is 42,1* di ἰακωβ prima di παῖς μου e di ἰσραὴλ prima di ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου.

<sup>19</sup> L'intera costruzione del versetto è nella LXX piuttosto enigmatica, e soprattutto il significato del verbo αἴρω è incerto. Più che è *tolta via/è recisa (la vita)*, sembra che il testo privilegi il valore positivo dell'essere *innalzato*, ad indicare così la sorte e il destino nuovo del Servo, dopo la tribolazione. È, infatti, questo il significato da preferirsi nella citazione lucana di *At 8,32-33*. Comunque sia, è certo che rispetto al TM, che sembra insistere sul mancato arresto e sull'ingiusta sentenza senza possibilità di difesa (*senza arresto, senza difesa lo tolsero di mezzo. Chi meditò sul suo destino? Fu eliminato dalla terra dei viventi*), la LXX elimina totalmente l'aspetto giuridico della vicenda (*nell'umiliazione il suo giudizio fu innalzato. Chi narrerà la sua generazione? Poiché è innalzata dalla terra la sua vita*).

<sup>20</sup> Nella linea della LXX, *yarūm* è assente anche nei codici della *Vetus Latina*, ma è attestato dal TM, per cui non c'è alcun motivo di considerarlo una glossa successiva, come vorrebbe J. Hempel, *Zu Jes 52,13*, in *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 55 (1937)

*yarûm w<sup>e</sup>nišša'* (*sorgerà e sarà sollevato*) con il solo ὑψωθήσεται. In Is 53,1, l'aggiunta nei LXX del vocativo Κύριε trasforma la domanda retorica del TM in un'invocazione rivolta a Dio da parte del *noi*, che a questo punto del poema prende la parola, fino a Is 53,8d, dove l'espressione τοῦ λαοῦ μου e il verbo successivo δώσω non lasciano dubbi che a parlare sia Dio. In Is 53,10 però, interviene un nuovo soggetto, forse il *noi* precedente o il profeta; infine nei vv. 11-12 l'intervento finale di Dio, come conferma la presenza del pronome αὐτῶν, chiude il poema<sup>21</sup>.

Da parte sua, la 1Clem presenta solo alcune piccole varianti rispetto alla LXX:

1. Is 53,3a: al posto di: ἐκλείπον παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους (o, secondo alcuni codici minori, παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων) Clemente ha: ἐκλείπον παρὰ τὸ εἶδος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, che per un certo verso è più aderente al TM. Abbiamo così:

TM: «Disprezzato e rifiuto di uomini» (*nibdeh wahadal 'išim*).

LXX: «Ma la sua sembianza (εἶδος) era spregevole (ἄτιμον) mancante nei confronti di tutti gli uomini».

1Clem 16,3: «Ma la sua sembianza (εἶδος) era spregevole mancante rispetto alla sembianza (εἶδος) degli uomini».

2. Subito dopo (53,3b) il testo di Clemente aggiunge καὶ πόνω, che evidenzia maggiormente la situazione di sofferenza del Servo (*essendo uomo nel dolore e nell'afflizione*).
3. In Is 53,6 il dativo ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν è reso con ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, forse per meglio sottolineare il carattere espiatorio della sofferenza e della morte del Servo.
4. La presenza del participio aoristo κείραντος invece di κείροντος in Is 53,7, come in At 8,32, è dovuta forse a motivi stilistici.
5. Del tutto irrilevanti ai fini del significato sono alcune inversioni dei termini, come ἀμαρτία e ἀνομία (Is 53,5) e Κύριος βούλεται (Is 53,10).

Di un certo spessore sembrano soprattutto le prime due modifiche, entrambe miranti a evidenziare la particolare situazione disumana del

309-310; non convince neanche la proposta di M. Dahood, *Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography*, in *Biblica* 46 (1965) 323-324, di leggere il verbo come un participio.

<sup>21</sup> I LXX, in sintonia con i testi di Qumran, aggiungono il termine luce (Is 53,11) come complemento oggetto del verbo vedere (*Il Servo vedrà la luce*). Questa variante rende più comprensibile il testo.

*Servo*: la prima sottolinea la mancanza di parvenza umana (εἶδος) nella sofferenza del protagonista, rafforzata dall'aggiunta successiva dell'espressione καὶ πόνῳ, assente nel testo della LXX. La terza modifica sottolinea maggiormente l'aspetto salvifico della morte del *Servo*, con l'uso di ὑπέρ.

## 5. La cristologia di Is 53

Accogliendo la versione greca dei LXX, non c'è motivo di dubitare che Clemente accetti, di conseguenza, tutta la teologia del brano, che egli ovviamente interpreta cristologicamente, e la forte spiritualizzazione della missione del *Servo*. È da rilevare, inoltre, che egli fa sua la sconvolgente orazione, rivolta a Dio dal gruppo corale o *noi*, che nel TM si configurava come semplice riflessione, seppure paradossale, del medesimo gruppo. Dato il carattere di citazione, generalmente questo testo non viene preso in molta considerazione quando si espone la cristologia della 1Clem, dal che ne deriva certamente un forte impoverimento<sup>22</sup>. Qual è, infatti, la cristologia implicita in Is 53 e che ovviamente Clemente fa sua? È la cristologia dell'abbassamento (ταπείνωσης), dove il Cristo nella sua passione è reso quasi irriconoscibile come uomo, talmente è stato *sfigurato* (Is 53,3) dalla sofferenza inflittagli dagli iniqui. Eppure egli era innocente *perché non commise ingiustizia né fu trovato inganno nella sua bocca* (Is 53,9); condannato a morte, egli non si è difeso, *non ha aperto bocca, ma fu condotto come pecora al macello* (Is 53,7). I testimoni di questo evento hanno avuto da Dio la rivelazione del valore espiatorio di questa morte: *costui portava i nostri peccati* (Is 53,4), *fu ferito a causa dei nostri peccati e fu reso infermo a causa delle nostre iniquità* (Is 53,5); *il Signore lo consegnò per i nostri peccati* (Is 53,6); *per le iniquità del mio popolo va alla morte* (Is 53,8); *egli porterà i loro peccati* (Is 53,11); *egli portò il peccato di molti e fu consegnato a causa dei loro peccati* (Is 53,12). Si tratta dunque di un *Servo* (Is 53,11) che va incontro a una sofferenza terribile, fino alla morte, ma è una morte accettata volontariamente per espiare i peccati

<sup>22</sup> Così, ad esempio P. Henne, *La Christologie chez Clément de Rome et dans le Pasteur d'Hermas*, Friburg 1992, 66.75, nota che lo scopo di Clemente nel citare Is 53 non è quello di identificare il Cristo con il *Servo*, ma semplicemente di esortare i Corinzi a imitarlo nel suo abbassamento; allo stesso modo O. B. Knoch, *Eigenart und Bedeutung der Eschatologie im theologischen Aufriß des ersten Clemensbriefes. Eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Bonn 1964, 280 (nota 18), ritiene che ciò spieghi il motivo dell'omissione di Is 52,13-15. Di opinione contraria, H. B. Bumpus, *The Christological Awareness of Clement of Rome and its Sources*, Cambridge 1972, 96-105: dopo aver passato in rassegna l'utilizzo di Is 53 nei testi neotestamentari, egli conclude che Clemente Romano aveva a sua disposizione un'antichissima tradizione del tema del *Servo sofferente* (*ibid.*, 99), che egli utilizza in senso propriamente cristologico (*ibid.*, 103-104).



del popolo e portare così la guarigione ai molti (*per la sua ferita siamo stati guariti: Is 53,5*), questi *molti* che diventeranno la sua eredità (*Is 53,12*). Ma alla fine il Signore *gli mostrerà la luce (Is 53,11)*.

Analizzata nel suo contesto, la citazione di *Is 53* è immediatamente seguita dal *Sal 21*[22],7-9, agganciata ad esso dalla semplice espressione: *Ed egli (lo Spirito Santo) dice ancora (1Clem 16,15)*. Anche questi versetti del salmo 21, interpretato cristologicamente, sottolineano il disprezzo di cui è fatto oggetto il *Servo*, fino alla derisione blasfema. Le due citazioni sono incluse da due affermazioni sull'abbassamento di Cristo, espresse dal verbo ταπεινοφρονέω (*1Clem 16,2.17*), proprio per evidenziare le conseguenze che ne derivano per la vita del cristiano: solo coloro, che nutrono gli stessi sentimenti di Cristo, gli appartengono (*1Clem 16,1*). L'inclusione è rafforzata dalla presenza del sostantivo «umiliazione» (ταπείνωσης) a metà del testo di Isaia (*Is 53,8*).

La citazione è introdotta da una formula senza precedenti, rafforzata dalla particella καθώς, presente solo qui e in *1Clem 48,2*, con la menzione dello Spirito Santo, che oltre al nostro testo compare solo in *1Clem 13,1*. Questa introduzione solenne della citazione fa supporre la particolare importanza che per Clemente Romano ha il testo di *Is 53,1-12*. Se, infatti, la *1Clem* è tutta permeata di Sacra Scrittura<sup>23</sup> — il che è uno degli argomenti più forti per dimostrare la radice giudaica dell'epistola<sup>24</sup> — la citazione di *Is 53,1-12* è tra le più lunghe e occupa un posto di rilievo all'interno di tutte le altre citazioni veterotestamentarie per il fatto che è espressamente riportata come profezia cristologica, sebbene l'accento sia posto sull'abbassamento di Cristo visto nel suo aspetto morale di "umiltà".

<sup>23</sup> Circa l'utilizzo della Scrittura in Clemente Romano cf. D. A. Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome*, Leiden 1973. Cf. anche J. R. Harris, «On an obscure Quotation in the First Epistle of Clement», in *Journal Biblical Literature* 29 (1910) 190-195; B. Rocco, «Due citazioni bibliche in San Clemente Romano», in *Bibbia e Oriente* 10 (1968) 207-210; Id., «San Clemente Romano e Qumran», in *Rivista Biblica Italiana* 20 (1972) 277-290. Più in generale cf. J. N. X. Alexander, «The Interpretation of Scripture in the Ante-Nicene Period», in *Interpretation* 12 (1958) 227-280; M. J. Suggs, «The Use of patristic Evidence in the Search for a primitive New Testament Text», in *New Testament Studies* 4 (1958) 139-147.

<sup>24</sup> E. Cattaneo nota che «*1Clem 58,2-59,2a* è parso ... come uno dei passi più ebraicizzanti di tutta la lettera; ciò prova la profonda conoscenza dell'ebraismo propria dell'autore, ma anche la radice giudaica della prima comunità cristiana di Roma» («Un "nuovo" passo della *Prima Clementis*: la "grande ammonizione" di *58,2-59,2a*», cit., 81). Nella lettera, però, sono anche molto evidenti gli influssi della filosofia ellenistica e della cultura romana.

## 6. L'umiltà di Cristo e dei cristiani

Non c'è dubbio, dunque, che la citazione di *Is* 53,1-12 serva a Clemente come supporto scritturistico per confermare quell'abbassamento estremo di Cristo nella sua passione, umanamente così difficile da accettare, ma che deve ora diventare modello di comportamento per i Corinzi<sup>25</sup>. L'utilizzo della citazione ha così un chiaro valore parenetico, ma ciò è stato possibile grazie all'interpretazione in chiave cristologica del poema isaiano<sup>26</sup>. Questo aspetto non deve essere sottovalutato. Verrebbe da dire che per Clemente era talmente scontata l'interpretazione cristologica del canto, da non avvertire neanche il bisogno di esplicitarla. Il testo di *Is* 53 non poteva essere letto da Clemente che come profezia della passione redentrice di Cristo. Tuttavia, con un andamento analogo a quello di *Mc* 10,45 e di *1Pt* 2,21-25, l'accento è messo su Cristo come esempio (ὁποῦραμμός) da seguire: se Gesù, il *Servo* del Signore, si è umiliato nei termini presentati dal profeta isaiano, i discepoli di Gesù non possono perseguire progetti di vanagloria. L'interpretazione in chiave cristologica del quarto canto del *Servo* consente, dunque, a Clemente di proporre il testo isaiano come norma di vita cristiana.

Del resto, il tema del "sentire umile" (ταπεινοφροσύνη) non è marginale nell'epistola, ma riveste un'importanza particolare. Le parole formate sulla radice ταπειν- (ταπεινός, ταπεινοφρονέω, ταπεινοφρόνησις, ταπεινόφρων, ταπεινός, ταπεινώσις) ricorrono una trentina di volte<sup>27</sup>. Così Clemente esorta: «Coltiviamo-sentimenti-di-umiltà (ταπεινοφρονήσομεν), fratelli, mettendo da parte ogni sorta di arroganza, alterigia, stoltezza e ira (1Clem 13,1)». «Rivestiamoci della concordia, coltivando-sentimenti-di-umiltà (ταπεινοφρονοῦντες)» (1Clem 30,3). L'importanza data alla «buona condotta» (1Clem 30,7) rivela il contesto tipicamente giudaico della *Halakhah*, dove il retto comportamento dell'umile attira la benedizione di Dio, mentre la boria del superbo provoca la maledizione: «Temerità,

<sup>25</sup> Più in generale, cf. l'interessante articolo di P. F. Esler, «Prototypes, Antitypes and Social Identity in *First Clement*: Outlining a New Interpretative Model», in *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 24/1 (2007) 125-146, soprattutto 143.

<sup>26</sup> C. Marksches, «Jesus Christ as a Man before God: Two Interpretive Models for Isaiah 53 in the Patristic Literature and their Development», in Janowski - Stuhlmacher (edited by), *The Suffering Servant...*, cit., 231, nota che Giustino e Clemente Romano rappresentano "due differenti modelli dell'interpretazione patristica di *Is* 53, il modello esemplare e il modello teologico".

<sup>27</sup> Cf. H. Kraft, *Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum*, München 1963, 419-420; A. Urbán, *Primae epistulae Clementis Romani ad Corinthios Concordantia* (Concordantia in Patres Apostolicos, 3), Hildesheim 1996, 207-208.

presunzione e superbia per i maledetti da Dio; benevolenza, umiltà e mitezza a quelli che sono benedetti da Dio» (1Clem 30,8)<sup>28</sup>.

## 7. Il tema del Servo sofferente e la tradizione petrina

L'utilizzo completo di Is 53 nella 1Clem, associato a tutte le citazioni parziali o allusioni presenti nel NT e nei Padri del II secolo, prova l'importanza che il poema isaiano ha ormai acquistato nella riflessione cristologica e soteriologica della Chiesa primitiva. I dati però ci permettono di affermare che tale utilizzo sia particolarmente presente in quella che potremmo definire la tradizione petrina o gerosolomitano-romana. Questa particolare tradizione sembra trasparire innanzitutto dai discorsi di Pietro in At 3,13.26; 4,27.30, dove nel primitivo annuncio pasquale l'apostolo qualifica la persona di Gesù con il semplice attributo di *Servo* (παῖς). La sua arcaicità sembra testimoniata soprattutto da At 4,27.30, che collega esplicitamente il sostantivo παῖς con il semplice nome di Gesù (τὸν ἅγιον παῖδα Ἰησοῦν)<sup>29</sup>. Inoltre, nella 1Pt, sulla cui provenienza romana non sembrano esserci dubbi<sup>30</sup>, l'inno di 1Pt 2,22-25, in cui si citano i vv. 4, 5, 6, 9, 12 di Is 53, conferma la peculiare importanza che il quarto canto del *Servo*, interpretato cristologicamente, aveva nella predicazione e nella comunità petrina. Abbiamo qui «un bellissimo intreccio fra *kerygma* e profezia»; «Il *Christus patiens pro nobis* è insieme modello etico

<sup>28</sup> Nel giudaismo la corrente farisaica era aperta a quegli apporti della tradizione orale, chiamata *Halakah*: cf. S. Safrai, *The Literature of the Sages*, Philadelphia 1987, 121-209. Clemente, proponendo il *Servo sofferente* come modello di umiltà, sembra essere in sintonia con la tradizione giudaica.

<sup>29</sup> Ciò lascerebbe supporre che uno dei primi titoli cristologici, se non il primo in assoluto, attribuito a Gesù, sia stato proprio quello di *Servo*. C'è da osservare, inoltre, che i discorsi petrini negli *Atti degli Apostoli* sembrano sintetizzare l'intera cristologia lucana, che presenta il ritratto di Gesù nella linea profetica del Messia-unto-consacrato (Lc 4,17-21) e del *Servo sofferente* (Lc 22,37 = Is 53,12d). Cf. R. F. O'Toole, «Does Luke also Portray Jesus as the Christ in Luke 4,16-30?», in *Biblica* 76 (1995) 498-522; Id., «How Does Luke Portray Jesus as Servant of YHWH», in *Biblica* 81/3 (2000) 328-346; B. J. Koet, *Dreams and Scripture in Luke-Acts*. Collected Essays, Leuven-Paris 2006, 62-65; P. Mallen, *The Reading and Transformation of Isaiah in Luke-Acts*, London 2008. Dopo la Pasqua la predicazione apostolica (Pietro: At 2,14-47; 3,12-26; 4,8-12; Stefano: At 7,1-53; Paolo: At 13,16-41; Giacomo: At 15,13-21) sintetizza tale cristologia.

<sup>30</sup> La lettera (cf. 1Pt 5,13) si presenta come scritta da Babilonia, che probabilmente è una designazione simbolica della capitale dell'impero romano. Sulla ricostruzione della Chiesa romana cf. R. Penna, *L'apostolo Paolo*. Studi di esegesi e teologia, Cinisello Balsamo 1991, 64-76; G. Segalla, *Teologia biblica del Nuovo Testamento* (Logos 8/2), Leumann (TO) 2006, 396-404: «L'esegesi recente, che si allontana sempre più dalla tesi paolinista, ipotizza una tradizione petrina nella città di Roma» (*ibid.*, 397).

(1Pt 2,22-23) ed evento salvifico»<sup>31</sup>. È la stessa prospettiva della 1Clem. Viene così confermata la tendenza più recente che pone la prima lettera di Pietro come «anello d'oro fra la tradizione giudeo-cristiana e la teologia paolina»<sup>32</sup>, testimone di uno stadio arcaico della comunità cristiana, che potrebbe riflettere la situazione degli anni 50-60<sup>33</sup>.

All'interno di questo quadro, il *loghion* del vangelo di Marco (Mc 10,45; cf. Mc 14,24), che la tradizione vuole come lo *Scriba Petri*<sup>34</sup>, e pertanto vicino alla tradizione petrina e alla comunità cristiana di Roma<sup>35</sup>, acquista maggiore plausibilità del suo effettivo riferimento a Is 53, divenendo così un ulteriore elemento a conferma della peculiare importanza che nella predicazione petrina ha avuto il riferimento al *Servo* deuterotaiano<sup>36</sup>.

La notizia riportataci da Clemente Alessandrino di un'opera andata perduta sulla *Predicazione di Pietro*, riguardante la fondatezza scritturistica della necessità delle sofferenze di Cristo<sup>37</sup>, si colloca forse in linea e nell'orizzonte di questo quadro ermeneutico, confermato probabilmente

<sup>31</sup> Segalla, *Teologia biblica del Nuovo Testamento*, cit., 398.399.

<sup>32</sup> Segalla, *Teologia biblica del Nuovo Testamento*, cit., 396.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Segalla, *Teologia biblica del Nuovo Testamento*, cit., 403.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Papia, in Eusebio, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III,39,15; Ireneo, *Adversus haereses* III,1,1.

<sup>35</sup> C'è un consenso quasi unanime tra gli esegeti nel ritenere che il vangelo di Marco sia frutto della predicazione petrina a Roma o in altra grande metropoli. I criteri interni (latinismi; divisione della giornata in quattro *vigiliae* e non in tre, ecc.) sostengono la convinzione del forte legame del vangelo marciano con la cultura e la storia romana: tra i più convinti cf. S. G. F. Brandon, *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church*, London 1951, 185-205. Cf. anche le posizioni a favore di M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon saint Marc*, Paris 1947, CVI-CVII; S. Légasse, *Marco*, Brescia 1978, 33-34; J. Gnilka, *Marco*, Assisi 1987, 27-31; R. Fabris, *Marco*, Brescia 1996, 37-38; sul fenomeno dei *latinismi* nel NT cf. C. Marucci, «Influssi latini sul greco del Nuovo Testamento», in *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 6 (1993) 3-30, soprattutto 17.

<sup>36</sup> Il *loghion* del riscatto di Mc 10,45 è estremamente originale. Sembra che esso non abbia precedenti in tutto il NT, a motivo soprattutto della presenza dei termini *λύτρον* e *ψυχή*, che contribuiscono non poco a renderlo peculiare. Si tratta, senza dubbio, di una formulazione piuttosto arcaica (più recente sembrano 1Tm 2,6 e Tt 2,14) risalente, almeno nella sostanza, a Gesù medesimo, il cui probabile substrato sembra essere nell'espressione ebraica *'im-tašim 'ašam naphšô* di Is 53,10a (TM). Tra i più convinti del riferimento a Is 53: J. Jeremias, «La predicazione di Gesù», in Id., *Teologia del Nuovo Testamento*, I, Brescia 1972, 334-335 e note 62-63; M. Adinolfi, «Il Servo di Jhwh nel logion del servizio e del riscatto (Mc. 10,45)», in *Bibbia e Oriente* 119 (1979) 43-61; E. R. Watts, *Jesus' Death, Isaiah 53 and Mark 10:45: a Crux revisited*. Jesus and the suffering Servant (WUNT 89), Tübingen 1998. Non è dello stesso parere, pur riconoscendo in generale la dipendenza del *loghion* da Is 53, B. Prete, «Il logion di Gesù: "dare la propria vita in riscatto per molti" (Mc 10,45)», in *Rivista Biblica Italiana* 44 (1996) 321.

<sup>37</sup> Clemente Alessandrino, *Stromata* VI,128 (SC 446, 316-317).

dall'apocrifo *Atti di Pietro* (20,4; 24,1), che cita Is 53,8.2, in riferimento alla passione e morte di Gesù.

Non è possibile stabilire con certezza le caratteristiche della predicazione di Pietro e la sua relazione con la primitiva comunità cristiana di Roma, né tanto meno risalire alla fondazione di tale comunità<sup>38</sup>. Non ci è di alcun aiuto a riguardo la menzione lucana della comunità cristiana di Roma negli *Atti degli Apostoli*, dove più che l'intento storiografico è prevalente l'interesse teologico dell'autore<sup>39</sup>. Il primo documento concernente la Chiesa di Roma, anche se proveniente dall'esterno, è la lettera di Paolo ai Romani, databile tra il 55 e il 58, ma essa è carente proprio sul rapporto di questa comunità con Pietro e la sua predicazione. Anzi è sintomatico il fatto che questi non sia nemmeno menzionato, laddove in altre lettere Paolo vi faccia più volte riferimento (1Cor 1,12; 9,5; 15,5; Gal 1,18; 2,7-9.11). Nemmeno la 1Pt e il medesimo vangelo marciano, nonché la lettera agli Ebrei<sup>40</sup> e forse la stessa lettera ai Filippesi<sup>41</sup>, che sono testimonianze probabilmente vicine alla comunità romana, e di conseguenza alla predicazione petrina, offrono elementi per un ulteriore approfondimento a riguardo.

Oltre, però, ad essere certa la radice giudaica di questa comunità, per cui si può dedurre che il rapporto di quest'ultima con la Chiesa madre di Gerusalemme sia stato significativo<sup>42</sup>, possiamo, inoltre, supporre — e

<sup>38</sup> R. Penna, *Lettera ai Romani. Rm 1-5*. Introduzione, versione, commento, I, Bologna 2004, 25, vuole le origini del cristianesimo a Roma verso la metà degli anni 40 (cf. l'intera sua ricostruzione in *ibid.*, 19-25). Cf. anche R. E. Brown — J. P. Meier, *Antiochia e Roma. Chiese-madri della cattolicità antica*, Assisi 1987, 120-128.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. a riguardo B. Prete, «L'arrivo di Paolo a Roma e il suo significato secondo *Atti* 28,16-31», in *Rivista Biblica Italiana* 31 (1983) 147-187.

<sup>40</sup> Alcune tematiche della lettera agli Ebrei sono presenti anche in Clemente Romano (cf. 1Clem 36). Si veda al riguardo M. Mees, «Die Hohepriester Theologie des Hebräerbriefes im Vergleich mit dem Ersten Clemensbrief», in *Biblische Zeitschrift* 22 (1978) 115-124. Sui motivi per cui la lettera agli Ebrei ebbe scarsa fortuna proprio nella Chiesa di Roma, cf. Brown — Meier, *Antiochia e Roma*, cit., 182-191.

<sup>41</sup> Facciamo riferimento qui alla suggestiva ipotesi di S. Bittasi, *Gli esempi necessari per discernere*. Il significato argomentativo della struttura della Lettera di Paolo ai Filippesi, (AnBib 153), Roma 2003, 226-227.231, che vuole la lettera ai Filippesi l'ultima scritta dall'Apostolo Paolo, e dalla città di Roma. Cf. al riguardo anche la medesima opinione di R. J. Cassidy, *Paul in Chains. Roman Imprisonment and the Letters of St. Paul*, New York, 2001, 124-135. Poiché, inoltre, nell'opera lucana il tema del *Servo* è assai rilevante cf. anche l'ipotesi di J. J. Kilgallen, «Luke wrote to Rome — a Suggestion», in *Biblica* 88/2 (2007) 251-255.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. R. Penna, «Configurazione giudeo-cristiana della Chiesa di Roma nel I secolo», in *Lateranum* 50 (1984) 101-113; Id., *L'apostolo Paolo*. Studi di esegesi e teologia, Cinisello Balsamo 1991, 64-76. Sulla comunità romana in genere e sulla presenza giudaica nella capitale dell'impero cf. Id., «Gli Ebrei a Roma al tempo dell'apostolo Paolo», in *Lateranum* 49 (1983) 213-246, anche in *New Testament Studies* 28 (1982) 321-347.

con buone ragioni — che la predicazione petrina abbia avuto il suo *Sitz im Leben* nella liturgia del battesimo, come dimostra ampiamente la *1Pt*, che appare essere sostanzialmente una vera e propria catechesi battesimale<sup>43</sup>. All'interno di questo quadro è probabile che l'esortazione a seguire l'umiltà di Cristo, agganciata alla tematica centrale della sofferenza del cristiano<sup>44</sup>, sia stata ben inserita nel contesto di una riflessione battesimale, dove anche *Is* 53 ha trovato una sua propria e specifica collocazione<sup>45</sup>. La presenza del termine *παῖς* nella preghiera di *1Clem* 59,2-4 sembra riflettere un'antichissima tradizione liturgica della primitiva comunità romana, il cui tono strettamente giudaico rimanda al medesimo antico substrato di *At* 3,13.26; 4,27.30<sup>46</sup>.

In conclusione, non ci sembra illogico presumere che la tematica del *Servo* possa essere giunta a Roma come riflesso della predicazione e tradizione gerosolomitana: in tutti gli scritti provenienti da Roma o indirizzati alla comunità cristiana della capitale dell'impero va riconosciuta la presenza del tema del *Servo* con citazioni dirette (*1Pt* 2,22-25; *Eb* 9,28; *Rm* 10,16; 15,21; *1Clem* 16,3-14) o allusioni (*Mc* 10,45; 14,24). Anzi, in quest'ottica, se la lettera ai Filippesi è collegata con la permanenza di Paolo a Roma, l'inno di *Fil* 2,5-11 acquista maggiore plausibilità a favore di una sua dipendenza da *Is* 53<sup>47</sup>. In ogni caso, possiamo ritenere che il riferimento al *Servo* sia alquanto consistente in quegli scritti del Nuovo Testamento che la tradizione vuole vicini a Pietro e alla sua predicazione. Il contesto parenetico in cui compare questo riferimento può a pri-

<sup>43</sup> Sembra proprio che il nucleo originario della *1Pt* sia una liturgia battesimale. M.-E. Boismard, «Une liturgie baptismale dans la *Prima Petri*», in *Revue biblique* 63 (1956) 182-208, individua due sezioni di tale liturgia: un inno battesimale (*1Pt* 1,3-5) e una catechesi (*1Pt* 1,13-2,10), che egli ritiene destinata a coloro che stanno per ricevere o hanno appena ricevuto il battesimo.

<sup>44</sup> Nella *1Pt* il tema del battesimo sembra dipendere dalla tematica centrale della sofferenza del cristiano, anche e soprattutto quella ingiustamente patita. Cf. a riguardo D. Hill, «On suffering and baptism in 1 Peter», in *Novum Testamentum* 18 (1976) 181-189; F. C. Syngé, «1 Peter 3<sup>18.21</sup>», in *Expository Times* 82 (1970/71) 311.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Jaubert, *Clément de Rome...*, cit., 125-126, nota 3. È anche possibile che Clemente citi quasi per intero il quarto canto del *Servo sofferente*, perché esso costituiva ormai un'unità fissa nella liturgia: cf. a riguardo H. W. Wolff, *Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum*, Berlin 1950, 108-109.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. a riguardo la dettagliata analisi di Bumpus, *The Christological Awareness...*, cit., 104-105.

<sup>47</sup> Tale dipendenza va certamente ammessa, almeno a livello schematico (umiliazione-esaltazione), ma F. Manzi va ancora oltre, sostenendone una dipendenza letteraria: cf. Id., «La dipendenza letteraria diretta di *Fil* 2,5-11 da *Is* 52,13-53,12», in *Rivista Biblica Italiana* 47 (1999) 277-359; Id., «...AVENDO PRESO FORMA DI SERVO» (*Fil* 2,7b). Rilettura cristologica di *Is* 52,13-53,12 in *Fil* 2,5-11», in *Rivista Biblica Italiana* 47 (1999), 39-47; Id., «*Fil* 2,6-11 ed *Eb* 5,5-10: due schemi cristologici a confronto», in *Rivista Biblica Italiana* 44 (1996) 31-64.

ma vista sembrare un impoverimento rispetto a quella che è la riflessione più apertamente cristologica e soteriologica. Ma ciò non deve trarre in inganno: il Cristo umile e sofferente presentato come modello per il cristiano perseguitato equivale di fatto a uno spostamento della *Halakhah* dalla *Torà* a Cristo, e suppone dunque quella professione di fede che ha il suo coronamento nella *martyria*<sup>48</sup>.

## 8. Conclusione

In conclusione, ci sembra di poter ritenere che l'utilizzo di *Is* 53 nella *1Clem* condizioni fortemente la cristologia dell'autore. La più lunga citazione dell'Antico Testamento fatta da Clemente Romano non può essere considerata marginale all'interno del suo progetto teologico. In altri termini, Clemente non poteva non fare sua la prospettiva della sofferenza redentrice propria del poema deutero-isaiano, inteso cristologicamente, anche se il suo intento immediato era quello di proporre ai Corinzi il Cristo come modello di abbassamento e di umiltà.

Data la provenienza della lettera da Roma e data la sua arcaicità, si può a buon diritto ritenere che il tema del *Servo sofferente* non sia stato marginale nella teologia della comunità cristiana di Roma. In effetti, la nutrita presenza di citazioni o allusioni a *Is* 53 in scritti provenienti da Roma o indirizzati alla comunità cristiana della capitale dell'impero ci inclinano a supporre che la predicazione petrina, il cui nucleo più antico sembra essere attestato dalla teologia lucana degli *Atti degli Apostoli*, abbia formulato il primitivo *kerygma* cristiano nella linea del *Servo* deutero-isaiano di *Is* 53: Gesù è il *santo Servo* del Signore, che con la sua sofferenza, passione e morte ha compiuto le profezie veterotestamentarie. Questo aggancio del *kerygma* con il tema del *Servo sofferente* trova la sua più esplicita formulazione nell'inno cristologico di *1Pt* 2,22-25.

Ci sembra così di poter affermare con sufficiente attendibilità che la citazione del quanto canto del *Servo* da parte di Clemente, discepolo di Pietro oltre che di Paolo, costituisca quasi la prova dell'importanza e del particolare interesse che la tradizione petrina ha posto al tema del *Servo sofferente*. La conferma certa della sua incidenza sta proprio nella *1Clem*, che utilizza *Is* 53 come il testo scritturistico che meglio si addice a esprimere l'identità di Cristo quale l'*umile Servo* del Signore e, di conseguen-

<sup>48</sup> Sorprende che la critica non abbia posto la dovuta attenzione a questa consistente tradizione petrina sul tema del *Servo*. Cullmann, «Gesù servo...», cit., 11, riconosce che l'inno cristologico di *1Pt* 2,21-25 ha una tradizione arcaica, rifacentesi a un primitivo nucleo petrino, ma poi afferma che nella prima comunità cristiana la cristologia del *Servo* ha di fatto ceduto il posto ad altre nozioni (cf. Id., *Die Christologie des Neuen Testaments*, Tübingen 1958, 50-81).

za, anche l'identità del cristiano. Non essendo possibile che l'idea deuterorisaiana del *Servo* umiliato, condotto al macello e nella cui bocca non fu trovato inganno, restasse indifferente o semplicemente marginale nello sviluppo primitivo della cristologia, profondamente ancorata all'economia veterotestamentaria, sembra proprio che la presenza del quarto canto del *Servo* nella 1Clem non solo non debba essere considerata come poco significativa, ma vada valorizzata come il supporto scritturistico più adeguato della primitiva cristologia.

### SUMMARY

The presence of Is 53 in the New Testament writings via direct quotations as well as allusions, plus the fact that it was not ignored in early patristic literature, shows its particular importance in the tradition one could define as *Petrine* or *Jerusalem-Roman*. 1Clement is a privileged witness of that tradition, the final link in an identifiable chain of Petrine discourses that extends from Acts 3:13.26; 4:27, 30 up to the hymn of 1Pet 2:22-25, and includes Mk 10:45; Heb 9:28 and Rom 10:16; 15:21, all writings that came from or were addressed to the Christian community in the imperial capital city of Rome.

One may affirm with reasonable certainty that the longest quotation of the Old Testament by Clement of Rome, a disciple of Peter and Paul, furnishes proof of the importance and particular interest the Petrine tradition gave to the theme of the *Suffering Servant*. This first complete quotation of Is 53 in a Christian text that could date to the beginning of AD 70 demonstrates the particularity of the theology of the *Suffering Servant* in the early Christian community.

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## Leo of Ohrid: the new *Kephalaia*

### Introduction

The name of Leo of Ohrid is usually accompanied by the epithet "polemicist," for the simple reason that he is known mainly for his involvement in the disputes with the Roman Church that culminated in the visit of Cardinal Humbert to Constantinople and the bull of excommunication placed upon the altar of Hagia Sophia.<sup>1</sup> So it comes as a pleasant surprise to be presented with a work attributed to him that has nothing to do with polemics. A German scholar, Elmar Büttner, has recently defended his doctoral thesis in Mainz (at the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität), a full study of the life and work of Leo.<sup>2</sup> In it he argues for the likely dates of Leo's holding of the archiepiscopal throne of Ohrid, 1037-1056, and gives a fresh edition of the three letters that sparked off the controversy. However, he also publishes for the first time a work consisting of fifty chapters (the *Kephalaia*), probably written before the letters and devoted to spiritual counsel.<sup>3</sup>

The literary genre chosen by Leo was especially popular in Byzantium, and had a long history going back to the *apophthegmata patrum*. In the eleventh century there were outstanding examples available, among them works by Symeon the New Theologian and his disciple Niketas, along with the great anthology drawn up by Paul for his monastery of Evergetis. However, Dr Büttner rightly points out that Leo, while showing similarities with his contemporaries, also displays a distinctive individuality. Hence it may be of interest to become acquainted with this unusual work.

Such *kephalaia* are obviously intended for meditation. The best known example is probably to be found among the works of Maximus

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<sup>1</sup> Brief account by John Meyendorff in the ODB (1991), s.v. "Leo of Ohrid", p. 1215.

<sup>2</sup> Elmar Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon von Ohrid (1037-1056): Leben und Werk (mit den Texten seiner bisher unedierten asketischen Schrift und seiner drei Briefe an den Papst)*, Bamberg 2007, 301 pp. [ISBN 978-3-00-021971-9]. The thesis was directed by Prof. Günter Prinzing in Mainz. Dr Büttner kindly helped me with corrections to this article.

<sup>3</sup> The only manuscript available is the *Vindobonensis Theol. Gr.* 167 in the Viennese National Library.

the Confessor, his *Chapters on Love*.<sup>4</sup> Each chapter usually consists of a single sentence, or thought, laconic in expression and often finely wrought, like a small gem. The reader is expected to turn it over in his or her mind, allowing the full impact to sink in. The sequence of chapters very often does not follow a logical pattern, though occasionally they may be grouped around a particular point.

Leo does select an over-arching theme for all fifty *kephalaia*, which in itself is an unusual choice. He concentrates on our attitude to the trials of life, such as suffering and hardship: *πειρασμός*, *θλίψις*, *λύπη*, *ὀδύνη*. He begins by suggesting that they may be good for the soul (1, 2, 3), and one's attitude to them shows true greatness of soul (5, 6). Later he will turn to the image of the smithy (29). Several of the *kephalaia* are more specific about the spiritual profit to be gained from hardship: a growth in humility (4); a raising to the spiritual (12); a ransom from future suffering (22, 37, 44); a training in virtue (20, 50); a help to prayer (14); a way to learn of God's laws (15). The educative value of hardship (*παιδεία*) is mentioned several times (8, 21, 24, 26), as is its curative value (27). In general, hardship, which is a necessity in our world (33, 34), can serve as an antidote to ease and pleasure which lead to sin (7, 13, 23), and should be seen as a sign of fatherly care (21, 28, 37, 49), both a punishment and a means to reward (17, 18). Not all suffering is to be considered good (24), but the imitation of Christ suffering (11, 25) is necessary for a Christian, and not to be feared (35, 36). There is voluntary and involuntary suffering, and the latter can be just as meritorious (31, 32). Most important, one has to distinguish real and apparent hardship (8, 9, 10, 40, 41, 43, 44, 47, 48). Several of the *kephalaia* refer to those who inflict hardship (19, 29, 30, 34), and they are seen as instruments either of God or of the devil (16). The latter is also prominent in Leo's theory of the four laws — those of the flesh (38, 39, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47) and those of God (40, 41) — which makes its appearance towards the latter part of the *kephalaia*. Although the specific teaching of each chapter can be isolated to some extent, very often the themes intertwine and overlap.

The originality of Leo appears both in the overall approach — the choice of general theme — and in several unexpected touches. As Dr Büttner emphasizes: a feature of the *kephalaia* is that they seem directed to a lay, or at least not exclusively monastic, audience.<sup>5</sup> Something similar could be said of the answer that Anastasius of Sinai gives when he tackles the theme of pains and hardships: having been asked

<sup>4</sup> Available in the Sources Chrétiennes edition, vol. 9 (Greek and French); translated into English by P. Sherwood as *The Ascetic Life: The Four Centuries on Charity*, Westminster, Maryland, (1955).

<sup>5</sup> E. Büttner, loc. cit., p. 155.

how one can distinguish those that come from God and those caused by the Evil One, he replies:

Very often it is not only because of God or the devil that we fall into dangers, trials and infirmities, but because of our own lack of judgement and carelessness, as happens to those who can see a stormy change of weather coming and nevertheless take their ship out of the harbour, or those others who fling themselves into danger. However the trial from God that comes upon someone for that person's good never eradicates good hope from the soul, such for example as in the case of Job; so he could say to God. "*I shall wait for you expecting when I will revive once more, the moment that you will appoint for me, in which you will remember me*" [Job 14:13-14<sup>6</sup>]. On the other hand, the trials that (with God's permission) come on from the devil fill the soul with despondency, anger and hopelessness.<sup>7</sup>

Although probably directed to a similar audience, the *kephalaia* of Leo adopt a more sophisticated and complex approach. For example, one is surprised to find him referring not to the Tower of Babel but of Chalanne (6). As the editor points out this is a reference to the verse in the Septuagint version of Isaiah 10:9, "Did I not take the country above Babylon and Chalanne, where the tower was built?"<sup>8</sup> This is typical of the nonchalance with which Leo brings home to his reader that they are dealing with a learned writer. In fact for several years he was chartophylax on the staff of the Great Church (so principal assistant to the Patriarch), and probably a member of the Imperial clergy. Another example comes in the implied reference to the myth of Cronos, the son-eater threatened by Zeus (23); the editor has seen here a patristic reference: the red-hot iron being used by Origen as a symbol of the union of divine and human natures in Christ,<sup>9</sup> but a mythological explanation — again by someone wanting to display his learning — seems more likely. Early on in the *Kephalaia* Leo gives a neat summary of progress in the spiritual life which has every appearance of being the fruit of personal experience. However, the fact that he limits himself to only fifty *kephalaia*, when one might have expected a full hundred, and also their irregular length, those in the second decade (15-18) being much longer, while those in the third

<sup>6</sup> Anastasius has rearranged the lines of Job, changing the tense sequence.

<sup>7</sup> Question 90: *Anastasioi Sinaitae Quaestiones et Responsiones*, eds., M. Richard & J.A. Munitiz [CCSG 59], Turnhout and Leuven, 2006, p. 144 (this Question and Answer were not included in most of the later collections of Pseudo-Anastasian *Quaestiones*).

<sup>8</sup> *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, A. Pietersma and B.G. Wright, OUP, New York and Oxford, 2007, p. 832.

<sup>9</sup> Dr Büttner acknowledges his debt to Lampe (*Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1233, 1) where the reference to Origen is given.

and fourth are very short, may suggest that he was "experimenting" with this genre.

An English translation of the *Kephalaia* is first offered, with a few comments where doubts have arisen, and then the Greek text published by Dr Büttner with some revisions.

### *English translation*

[1] Corn, brought fruitfully out of the soil, exists for the good of our life and sustenance: "beneficent bread," according to David, the Psalmist, "*strengthens the human heart*" (Ps. 103:15); but if it occurs in some cases that the corn is soaked because of some damp, it becomes of no use unless it is dried out sooner. And every soul, when frequently watered by the influx of pleasures and leisure, unless it is dried out by hardships, is of no use.

[2] When the mill grinds the corn and reduces it to powder, we then know that it can be made into bread and nourish us; for otherwise it is impossible to treat it to be used as bread; also the soul, unless it has been ground by frequent trials, cannot develop the Word, who says: "*My nourishment is to accomplish the work, which I have undertaken*" (cf. John 4:34), and that is the salvation of our souls.

[3] Out of knowledge of the judgements of God, it is possible for us to love Him; then from there comes the observance of his salvific commands (cf. 1 Cor. 7:19), and out of that, divine love for us, after which follows the revelation of the unseen God and his dwelling (cf. 2 Cor. 6:16) in human souls, and out of that, the inexpressible union and complete perfection which surpasses all that can be thought. Nevertheless the starting point of knowledge of the judgements of God is that we are humbled by Him through hardships; it is impossible without this to tread the path of virtue, by which we are borne along towards perfection.

[4] The start of the beatitudes, the Saviour says, is a modest stance, as the name he gives to such people is, "*the poor in spirit*" (Mt. 5:3); but what, if anything can bring about this disposition in us, if not to suffer affliction? Therefore, for a person who does not start here, the steps by which one can advance further are impossible, but this start is found through trials; those who aim at a life in Christ must prepare themselves for affliction, in accordance with the word of the Wise One: "*Child, if you approach to serve God, prepare your soul for testing*" (Sirach 2:1).

[5] Truly man is something great, because he is the image among existing things of the One who excels absolutely everything; a consequence of this dignity is to be lofty-minded: and there are two ways in which this is possible — one that is real, and the other that is purely nominal. There

are those who preserve the non-enslaved state of their immortal souls amidst all that is perishable; these are really great-minded. But there are those who submit to the dark confusion of wealth, and because of this, becoming "high-falutin," carry a dropsical burden. Therefore the divine Apostle, writing to Timothy, rejects that imaginary high-mindedness and strives rather for the truth (cf. 1 Tim. 6:17); and he says, "*Our citizenship is in heaven*" (Phil. 3:20), and "*(we are) afflicted in all sorts of ways, but not down-hearted*" (2 Cor. 4:8), and again, "*More than this: let us exult in our afflictions*" (Rom. 5:3).

[6] Since it is necessary to build up in ourselves what is truly lofty, and to destroy in ourselves in every way what is not truly so, to undergo affliction suffices in human beings for both ends. For this *produces endurance, which produces character* (Rom. 5:3), and from this follows perfect action; while in those being perfected hardship banishes all that is childish — these are the elements of downward movement, which, in the case of earthly beings, unsettle and imprison the mind; these are the stones from which the tower of upward climbing ambition is constructed; it is a Tower of Chalanne [Babel] meriting destruction, the thinking that is lifted on high thanks to lineage, fame, wealth, corporeal beauty and strength, and such things; it is thrown down upon the earth by the onslaught of different tribulations, which unflinching teach us the unstable and deceitful nature of each of those elements that produce such inflated pride.

[7] The God who formed us is an abyss of goodness; He does not wish our life to be harmed in any way, and therefore it was with this in mind that the One who suffered Himself constructed life for [Adam], the first created; but since the Enemy, taking as his co-worker man's ease, caused Adam to fall, God arranged for affliction to exist in this world, so that we might grasp once more those blessings, from which we fell through our negligence, and He transfers us, in great wisdom and goodness, to the inheritance of inexpressible happiness.

[8] Indeed among the things that exist there is something that is evil by nature, and also something called such, but which is capable of doing good; so that which is evil by nature and causes harm, is sin, but (the other), which (later) appears to be doing good, is sent to perdition by us. For "*all chastisement,*" the divine Apostle says, "*at the present moment does not seem to be a matter of joy, but of pain; however later it apportions the fruit of peace to those exercised by it for their salvation*" (Hebr. 12:11).

[9] A trial is a fire that burns up the hearts of those undergoing affliction, but the residue left behind when fire takes place in some material is the ash from that; now all those who accept with patience the trials that come upon them, and who endure without complaining, can say with David, the one who fathered the lineage of God, "*For I ate ash like bread*"

(Ps. 101:10), because of the benefit that came from that, being nourished and richly fed in their souls.

[10] Of all the pains that befall us, the last and the most terrible to most is the loss of life, because for the sake of life, we do and we suffer everything, and we gladly say farewell to our possessions so that we may not undergo death. However the Lord, instilling courage in our weakness against the *World-ruler* (cf. Eph. 6:12), in so far as He urges us "*not to fear those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul*" (Mt. 10:28), He taught us courage in smaller things and fearlessness because of the great support we have;<sup>10</sup> for anyone who is required by an order to contribute the maximum, would never hesitate about contributing less, unless that person wickedly forgets that order.

[11] Christ is the unique exemplar of what is believed, and the root of those who come to fruition in him; but the whole offering must resemble the exemplar, and the fruits that burgeon from that root must share in its quality. What justification can there be for us to demand to be called after Christ, but to reject as an unnecessary retardment our journeying in life following the model of Christ? *For not all those who repeat, "Lord, Lord," will enter the kingdom of God* (cf. Mt. 7:21), and the Apostle writes, "*Be imitators of me as I am of Christ*" (1 Cor. 11:1). Therefore we gain nothing by believing, unless we choose to live as the Lord Christ conducted his life in the flesh; for then will we be found to be part of the exemplar and of the root, when by patiently undergoing trials, we bear much fruit.

[12] The body that we have, mixed up from the elements of the world, is thick and earthy, dragging down the mind of ours, which is heavenly, towards the weighty, which is connatural to the body, while (our) spirit is a divine object, and it aspires in all things to what is proper to itself and in accordance with its nature; in this constant counter-balance upwards and downwards, the lightest part follows the upward path, while that which has weight goes downwards; however when affliction wears away the heavy extra weight, it assists the mind along its natural path, and thus carries the human being to where Christ is seated *at the right hand of the Father* (cf. Col. 3:1).

[13] Both an increase of the blood and a heaviness of the body belong to material pleasure in the flesh; to impede such pleasure and to introduce pain as an antidote, (hardship) increases the heaviness of the flesh:

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<sup>10</sup> The Greek here is obscure: τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττωσι τόλμαν καὶ τὸ ἀπτόητον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἡμᾶς ἐδίδασκεν: Büttner translates: "und er hat uns den Wagemut in weniger wertvollen Dingen gelehrt und die unerschrockenheit, die aus dem resultiert, was weit wertvoller ist." However the ἐκ here is probably causal, "because," rather than source, "out of," as in 34 below.

for, as the Psalmist says, "*Due to the sound of my groaning my bone clung to my flesh*" (Ps. 101:6).

[14] No one can supplicate God like one purified unless that person provides wings for the mind towards Him; for as long as one is in love with folly and seeks falsehood, pursuing material things, and considering what is fleeting to be stable, one has set one's foot in a *foreign* land, in which it is impossible *to sing the ode of the Lord* (cf. Ps. 136:4). But affliction, having prepared the mind, holds foolish things in contempt (for it is out of and in reaction to such that it burgeons), usually raises it upward, and gives it the power to supplicate with purity. Scripture says, "*Affliction and pain I found, and on the name of the Lord I called*" (Ps. 114:3).

[15] It is not possible to observe properly, with endurance, the salvific laws, nor *to bear fruit for God* (Rom. 7:4) as good earth, nor to expect harvests from good seed, unless we possess an exact perception of those laws; for in what way could one be a proper observer of those things when one has not followed the path of their knowledge? But that knowledge is given to one by rigorous meditation, and that meditation is brought along by the impact of trials: as Scripture says, "*Hardships and anguish found me out; your laws were my meditation*" (Ps. 118:143). Therefore, anyone who attempts (to remain) outside those trials, will not meditate on the laws that purify the soul, and lacking that meditation will lack knowledge, but in ignorance will travel far from the Divine Wish, and turning away from that wish will be orientated towards its opposite — and the consequence of such an about-turn will follow, condemnation to Hades with the demons, the root cause of which is an avoidance of trials.

[16] Those who inflict hardships and insults wickedly strive to be superior to those who suffer ill, and to be counted in the company of the victorious; but if they realized, opening their spiritual eyes, that they themselves are being motivated and perverted by the enemy of mankind, the Devil, since they serve him as instruments for inflicting harm on their brethren, while these possess the Lord of comforts, gathering strength through their own sufferings for their endurance, then they would lament their ultimate defeat, just as the divine Apostle, after his illumination, used to say: "*I am unfit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God*" (1 Cor. 15:9), while they would admire and call blessed those who were thought to have fallen beneath them, just as the same Paul appears, having accepted to join in the sufferings of those who were once persecuted (cf. 1 Cor. 4:12).

[17] There are some people that life loads with penalties, and there are some who conduct themselves impeccably in God's sight, but the lot of both them and the others is to suffer grievously; in the case of the first

the suffering is like a refiner's fire, restricting their songs, but for the others it is like a crowning award and a participation in sacred things. Isaiah demonstrates the first case, when he says, "*For his sins for a short time I caused him suffering and I struck him, and I turned my face away from him; and he suffered and walked downcast in his ways, and I healed him and gave him true comfort*" (Is. 57:17). As for the second, Job and Paul bear witness.

[18] Of those who suffer trials, on the one hand there are those who do so because of religion (like the noble minded athletes of Christ) or because of the truth, e.g. being treated with grave injustice in their daily affairs: they suffer jealousy, they are banished or calumniated, or robbed, or persecuted, or flogged, or suffer in some other way; these can courageously declare before God: "*For your sake we are being killed all the day long*" (Rom. 8:36); on them *the spirit of glory rests* (1 Pet. 4:14), for they have become *sharers in Christ's sufferings* (1 Pet. 4:13). On the other hand, there are those, who, although no clear cause appears for the hostility of the ones who inflict the trials, but simply because of those persons' avariciousness and their desire for the other's belongings, suffer calumny, and penalties, and other hardships, and are murdered, as with Naboth in the case of Ahab because of the vineyard (cf. 3 Reg. 21).

Some have thought that the second group will receive less than the first in the distribution of rewards. But since clearly the first have a motive to console them, which in their case lightens the pains during the period of suffering, while for the second there is no obvious and easily recognized consolation, so that they suffer more grievously, please consider, along with those of right judgement, that one may conclude how, even if the second do not receive more, they will receive the same reward or very nearly, if they bear magnanimously what befalls them, or take as reparation for their sins the hardships that come their way.

[19] Infected by a perversion in their dogmatic positions, the persecutors attack the faithful; thus Judas, infected by a lust for wealth, betrayed his teacher. For the disciple the sentence was all the more severe, because it was not in ignorance, but blinded by passion that he rejected what was connatural to him. Let the avaricious learn from this example, and let them shun the chasm of such a downfall.

[20] [Suppose] two men entering the palaestra: one starts the competition accompanied by a massagist and a trainer who stands close by to encourage him publicly; the other without anyone like that gets ready [literally: puts on the sand] and shows courage. Which of the two deserves more credit, or is it not obvious that the second understands, if they be harassed by some people without any previous cause, how to take up his position and strongly bear up against them?

[21] The divine Apostle considers those who have no share in chastisement to be *bastards, and not legitimate sons* (cf. Heb. 12:8); by means



of such (chastisement) he actually makes sons of his brothers, because he says, "*Endure the chastisement; (God) brings it upon you as you are sons*" (Heb. 12:7). Do not close yourself up, avoiding the trials He inflicts, but keeping in sight how great is the gain, "*Think of it as the fullness of grace, when you are thoroughly tried by various trials*" (Jac. 1:2), as someone said.

[22] Those of one's possessions that are given away in alms become a ransom for the soul of the one who gives them away. Consider! If possessions are plundered by force, will they have a lasting role as a penalty for those who are then deprived? Does not the Apostle say: "*Joyfully accept the plundering of your goods, knowing that you have a greater and abiding possession for yourselves in heaven*" (Heb. 10:34)?

[23] (In mythology) the son is engendered with "iron" (threatening death), and the father (Cronos), who is soon to be destroyed, consumes his son; and also sin having introduced sorrow, engineers its (own) destruction by that means. So those who discover and hate their sin will receive suffering as a co-helper for its expulsion.<sup>11</sup>

[24] There is a sorrow that is not advantageous for those who suffer it, but rather can even produce spiritual death: this is when we are not honoured by the blessings of our brothers, and we are exasperated at their zeal, become angry at them and envy them; again, this is when we receive chastisement from the Lord and are annoyed beyond what is right, and escape and do not bear that chastisement. *Blessed the one who endures trial, for having been tested that person will gain the crown of life* (Jac. 1:12).

[25] When the all-powerful Lord became man for us, He did not enlist himself in the company of the rich and powerful, but in that of the peniless and those born to be unjustly treated, and by giving power to the abusers, he preferred in exchange to defend himself by good deeds; this was so that we might not hide ourselves, because of our poverty (for poverty is the sustenance of Christ), and so that we might bear courageously whatever may befall. Those whose path lies through those same things are sharers of His glory; as Scripture says, "*If we join in the sufferings, it is that we may join in the glory*" (Rom. 8:17).

[26] Foolish are the sons of men, if they cast upon those who do them harm the cause of their ills, as though it is not possible for Providence to bring affliction upon us by means of others; surely when a wife or child or servant or horse or dog are a hindrance and reason to fall — as the Lord God allows — they are taking the place of the One who is striking

<sup>11</sup> As explained above, Dr Büttner gives quite a different translation of the first part of this chapter: "Jesus [given in the manuscript] wird in göttlicher und menschlicher Natur geboren, und der Vater gibt das Kind hin, indem er es nach und nach opfert." The translation given here requires a textual correction: 'Ο υιός in place of 'Ιησοῦς.

us. Therefore it is necessary to attribute to the reasons that govern everything the decision concerning our chastisement, and the instrument used for this is not to be blamed; for no one has power over us, unless it is given to that person from above (cf. Ioh. 19:11); otherwise, the one who is whipped and the one who is branded will be blaming the whip and the branding iron in place of the person wielding the whip and applying the brand.

[27] Not because we are unable to discover infallibly the reasons of divine providence and the causes of each thing that happens, not because of that is it (true) that there is something irrational about the things that happen to us accidentally; just as God made all things with wisdom, so does He continue to act day by day. Thus our role is to learn a lesson from the Gospels, that not even the fall of sparrows into the trap (cf. Mt. 10:29; Lc. 12:6) is without the decision of God, and to be convinced that nothing not good comes or will come from the Good, and so to give thanks for everything, though we may suffer in a small way, since this is a consequence of being cured, being grateful to God because in all things He works for our spiritual healing.

[28] It is necessary to profess our faith in God not only when He does us good, but also when He chastises us, since the purpose of this, if only we are willing, has for its goal our advantage; all those who bore affliction with courage gave witness to this — the Lord's brother said: *"You have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the Lord's purpose"* (Jac. 5:11), and the divine apostle Paul, *"The sufferings of this present age are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed to us"* (Rom. 8:18).

[29] Those who are abusive should not be presumptuous, just because they are providentially the instruments for spiritual healing to others, for in the case of iron-workers, a chosen piece of iron is placed between anvil and hammer; due to its physical resistance, it is not such that it can be shaped into an instrument useful for life unless softened by fire.

[30] The Egyptians and Assyrians humiliated Israel, which was handed over to them by God, but they paid the penalty for their cruelty because it was not as servants of God that they brought such terrible things upon them, but by their own cruelty, as slaves to their passions; that is why God declared through Zacharias, *"I have been jealous with great jealousy for Jerusalem and for Sion, and I am angry with great anger against those who joined together in an attack against you; because I was angry in regard to a few things, but they brought together evil things upon you"* (Zach. 1:14-15).

[31] Among the hardships to be borne, some are voluntarily chosen, while some are completely involuntary; those that are involuntary seem to be more meritorious than those that are voluntary, for those who support them with patience, just as the pains inflicted by order are harsher

than the pains that one wishes to have; "*but each will receive a wage in accord with his or her personal labour*" (1 Cor. 3:8).

[32] Sometimes, in the case of hardships that one takes on voluntarily, conceit causes problems and brings to light that the seed one has sown is fruitless; whereas in the case of those (hardships) from outside contrary to our will, the merit that comes from patience follows on the diminishment of self-esteem for those on their guard.

[33] The Lord foretold his disciples, "*You will have tribulation in the world*" (Ioh. 16:33); surely, if it is impossible for Truth itself to have lied, then it is also impossible for things to be otherwise, and those who seek not to have tribulation are exiling themselves from this blessed place.

[34] That person is not a lover of God, who does not avoid bringing harm in any way on a fellow human being; for how can *someone who does not love* — or I would add, who hates — *the brother whom he has seen*, how can such a person love *the God, whom he has not seen* (1 Ioh. 4:20)? Therefore all those who fear any hardship because of such a wicked person, and are on their guard against being tried by anyone of that sort, will do everything to please that person.<sup>12</sup> But then, how can they be servants of Christ who not only try to please men in general, but such as these?

[35] The divine Apostle defined "faith" as "*the assurance of things hoped for, and the conviction of things not seen*" (Hebr. 11:1); therefore my fear is that because of our fear of hardships we may be found unsure in our faith, for just as a small proprietor who gains a little rejoices all the more, so someone will rejoice, convinced that in return for a short and passing affliction he stands to gain an abundant and eternal contentment, provided that he has not weakened in his hope, in relation to which his faith is defined.

[36] The Saviour counted as a proof of the firmness of one's faith the following: "*The rain fell and the rivers came and the winds blew*, but the house built upon rock remained without harm" (cf. Mt. 7:25); so let us fear what is constructed on sand, we who are shaken by hardships.

[37] The holy Fathers have said that the cause of things that are not in our favour are things really in our favour from the goodness of God, as He with temporary places of punishment forestalls the harshness of everlasting ones due for our failings. Therefore anyone who rejects these

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<sup>12</sup> The problem here is to understand what is meant by τὴν ἐκ τῆς πονηρᾶς ψυχῆς δεδοίκασιν ὀλῖψιν; it seems more likely that the reference is to the person who may inflict hardship, but Dr Büttner understands Leo to refer to the "soul" of the reader: "Alle die aber, die die Bedrückung aufgrund ihrer lasterhaften Seele fürchten und sich hüten, sich dieser Bedrückung zu stellen, werden auf jede nur mögliche Weise auf Mittel sinnen, ihrer Seele zu Gefallen zu sein."

lighter things is unknowingly handing him or her self over to heavier trials.

[38] The divine Apostle wisely teaches that four laws appear active within us, which are either coupled together or opposed to one another: and of these the two extremes are the law of God and the law of sin, but each of the others enhances and supports one or the other (of the extremes) — the law of the mind for the law of God, and the law of the flesh for that of sin. Let us consider how great is the danger that sin, because of our life in the flesh, may take the lead over righteousness.

[39] Just as earthly flesh is a part of us by nature, so also the mind is the best of what is in us; therefore it is for those who are intelligent and religiously minded to encourage the inclination in support of the law of the really good, and to guard what is most powerful in defence of justice, while not confusing the spirit with things and thus becoming imprisoned to sin.

[40] As far as things to be done are concerned, it is a law of God and an unfailing principle, not contrary to the Old or the New Testament, that an abundance of well-being belongs to those who gain their being in the next life.

[41] It is a law of the mind according to which we long for things that are the best, and advantageous, and truly pleasurable, being discerned unerringly by the mind, in so far as it has received from God the power to take the place in the soul of the eye.

[42] A pursuit of passing pleasures, and a flight from things that cause pain, this is what the law of the flesh is; this law emerges and gains strength from the misleading administration of the senses.

[43] The law of sin is the enslavement of souls through false pleasure so that they wander off and are carried far from the divine law.

[44] The yearning for future blessings works along with the divine law as it persuades one to put up with temporary pains for the sake of enjoying what are to be eternal pleasures; for that the divine Apostle *meeting death every day* (1 Cor. 15:31) pressed on towards *the prize of the upward calling* (Phil. 3:14).

[45] The devil collaborates with the law of sin by forming the attraction of the senses towards the imaginary pleasures of this transient life, and also the revulsion from what is painful; because of this, Israel in the desert grumbled against God and Moses, and sinned against the Madianite maidens, and were loaded with hardships by the anger of God (cf. Num. 25:1-9).

[46] While grumbling suggests escape from a short amount of suffering, fornication suggests the deceit of the eyes by which a wretch is mentally enslaved; similarly the law of the flesh, both then and now, as it involves us in a fall from what is good, establishes that the guilty person is liable to God's judgement.

[47] The forethought of flesh itself has made clear that the law of the flesh is destructive to those how observe it; for we put up with many things, in order to cure with painful measures our sensual nature when it has fallen ill, preferring fasting and bitter medicine and amputation and cauterization rather than the things that cause pleasure, if we can escape the illness that comes from them.

[48] Brethren, let us be terrified and lament lest, being granted during the few days of life here below the chance to choose what is best, by deceiving ourselves about the true life, we die a terrible death.

[49] God organizes our lives for us by means of opposites, now providing happy experiences to provoke gratitude, now inflicting unhappy experiences on us to make us develop; so those who react with annoyance towards the second are also those who are convicted of being negligent with regard to the first.

[50] The Lord, being good, always does good; thus He is upright and "*His face beheld acts of uprightness*" (Ps. 10:7), as the divine David says. But humans, who do evil, are utterly evil; thus being twisted a person knows how to arrange crooked practices. Therefore, if someone follows the good and upright Lord, how can such a one intend to escape from opposing and wicked crookedness, and flee the twisted practices of the powerful? Well, one should not be sorrowful about the troubles that befall one in life, being aware that the harsh pains of this life are arranged for us by wicked slaves for the sake of the hope in the good Lord that is ours; rather one should consider it *all joy*, in accordance with the great apostle and Church leader, *when we meet various trials* (Jac. 1:2), for we have clear proof from the disasters brought on the powers of evil that *having* moved far from their wishes, we are following the will of the good powers, and by their means we become kindred with God.

### Greek Text

Highlighted in bold are the changes made to Dr Büttner's edition, with an explanation if needed in the apparatus criticus; occasionally his punctuation has been tacitly altered.

- [1] α' Ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν εἰς ζωὴν καὶ διατροφὴν ὁ καρποφορούμενος ἐκ τῆς γῆς σῖτος· εὐχάριστος, κατὰ τὸν ἱεροψάλτην Δαυίδ, ἄρτος *στηρίζει καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου*· ἀλλ' εἰ συμβαίῃ τισὶ παρά τινος διαβραχῆναι νοτίδος, εἰς ἀχρηστείαν μὴ ἀναξηρανθεῖς **τάχιον** καταντᾶ· καὶ ψυχὴ δὲ πᾶσα, ὅτε  
5 ταῖς ἡδονῶν καὶ ἀνέσεων ἐπιρροαῖς συχνὰ διαβρέχεται, μὴ πειρασμοῖς ἀναξηρανθεῖσα, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐστὶ **χρήσιμον**.

3 συμβαίει V || 4 τάχιον correxi: τάχειον V, **θάπτον** scripsit Büttner | ψυχὴ δὲ correxit Büttner: ψυχὴ δε V || 5 ἀναίσεων V | ἐπιρροαῖς V || 6 χρήσιμον conser-vavi: **χρήσιμος** correxit Büttner

- [2] β' Ἀρτοποιεῖσθαι τὸν σῖτον καὶ τρέφειν ἡμᾶς τότε γινώσκομεν, ἥνίκα ἡ μύλη συντριβῇ καὶ εἰς τὸ χνοῶδες καταλεπτύνει, ἄλλως γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς χρήσιν ἄρτου κατασκευασθῆναι ἀδύνατον· καὶ ψυχὴν τὴν μὴ πειρατηρίοις πυκνοῖς συντριβεῖσαν διαθρῆψαι τὸν Λόγον ἀδύνατον,  
5 ἐμὸν βρῶμα ἐστὶ λέγοντα, ἵνα τελειώσω τὸ ἔργον, (ὁ) προκεχειρίσμαι, τὸ δ' ἔστιν ἡ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν σωτηρία.

5 λέγοντα correxī: λέγον τό V et Büttner | ὁ addidit et crucem notavit Büttner

- [3] γ' Ἐκ τοῦ γινῶναι τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαιώματα τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἡμῖν τοῦτον περίεστι· ἐνθένδεν δὲ ἡ τῶν σωτηρίων ἐντολῶν γίνεται τήρησις, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἡ θεία περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγάπη, μεθ' ἣν ἡ ἐμφάνισις τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐνοίκησις εἰς τὰς ἀνθρωπίνους ψυχὰς, ἐξ ἧς ἡ ὑπὲρ λόγον ἄρρητος  
5 ἔνωσις καὶ ὄντως τελειώσις. Τοίνυν ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν δικαιωμάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ γνώσεως ἐστὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ταπεινωθῆναι ἡμᾶς διὰ πειρασμῶν· ἀδύνατον τούτου χωρὶς τὴν ὁδὸν βαδίσαι τῆς ἀρετῆς, δι' ἧς φερόμεθα πρὸς τὸ τέλειον.

3 ἐμφάνησις V || 5 ἔνωσις V || 6 ταπεινωθεῖναι V

- [4] δ' Ἀρχὴν τῶν μακαρισμῶν ὁ Σωτὴρ τὸ μέτριόν φησι φρόνημα· τοὺς γὰρ τοιοῦτους πτωχοὺς ὀνομάζει τῷ πνεύματι· ταύτην τὴν κατάστασιν, εἴπερ ἄλλο, τί κατορθοῦν παρ' ἡμῖν (ἡ) τὸ θλίβεσθαι; Οὐκοῦν οἱ τὸν μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιβάντι, τοῖς ἐξ οἷς προβαίνειν ἀδύνατον· αὕτη δὲ διὰ τῶν  
5 πειρατηρίων εὐρίσκεται· τοὺς ἐφιεμένους τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ζωῆς πρὸς θλίψιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐτοιμάζειν ἐπάναγκες, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα Σοφόν· Τέκνον, εἰ προσῆλθες δουλεύειν θεῷ, ἐτοίμασον τὴν ψυχὴν σου εἰς πειρασμόν.

1 μέτριόν φησι correxī: μέτριον τῇ φύσει V et Büttner || 2 εἴπερ correxī: ὅπερ V et Büttner || 3 ἡ addidit || 4 ἐπιβάντι correxī: ἐπιβάντα V et Büttner

[Without the correction in line 1 φησί has to be understood, which is possible; on the other hand, one can see how it could have been corrupted if it were present.]

- [5] ε' Μέγα ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς, ὅτι Θεοῦ εἰκὼν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι, τοῦ πᾶσι πάντων ὑπερέχοντος, ἔπεται δὲ τῇ ἀξίᾳ τὸ μέγα φρονεῖν· διττὸς δὲ ὁ τούτου τρόπος, ὁ μὲν τις ὢν, ὁ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενος· οἱ μὲν γάρ, ἀδούλωτον τῆς ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς τὸ κατάστημα τοῖς φθειρομένοις ἅπασι περι-  
5 σφύζοντες, ὄντως εἰσὶ μεγάλοφρονες· οἱ δὲ ὑπέικοντες ἐπὶ πλούτου ἀδηλόγητι, καὶ τούτου ἔνεκεν ὑψηλοφρονοῦντες, τὸν ὕδερικὸν ὄγκον φέρουσι. Οὐκοῦν Τιμοθέω γράφων ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, τὴν φαντασιώδη ταύτην ὑψηλοφροσύνην ἐκβαλὼν, τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μᾶλλον ἀντέχεται, ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα λέγων ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι, ἀλλ'  
10 οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι· καὶ αὐθις· οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχόμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν.

1 τοῦ πᾶσι correxī: τοῦπάσι V, τούπασι Büttner || 3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ correxī Büttner: ὁ μὲν γὰρ V || 4 κατάστημα V || 5 ὑπῆκοντες V | πλούτῳ V || 8 ὑψηλοφροσύνην V | μάλλα V

- [6] ζ' Ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν κυρίως ὑψηλὸν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον οἰκοδομεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' οὐ κυρίως τρόπῳ παντὶ καθαιρεῖσθαι, ἱκανὸν ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς ἅμῳ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ θλίβεσθαι· *κατεργάζεται* γὰρ *ὑπομονήν*, ἡ δὲ *δοκιμήν*, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἔργον ἔπεται τέλειον· τοῖς δ' ἐν τελειότητι πάντα κατήργη-  
 5 ται τὰ τῆς νηπιότητος, ἅτινα εἰσὶ τὰ τῆς κάτω περιφορᾶς τοὺς ἀπὸ γῆς τὸ φρόνημα περισαίνοντα καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντα· ἐκ τούτων οἰκοδομεῖται λίθων ὁ πύργος τοῦ ἀληθῶς ὑπερανεστηκότος φρονήματος· ἔστι καὶ Χαλάννης πύργος καθαιρέσεως ἄξιος, τὸ ἐκ γένους καὶ δόξης καὶ πλούτου καὶ κάλλους καὶ ῥώμης σώματος καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις  
 10 ὑφούμενον φρόνημα, ὅπερ εἰς γῆν κατασπάται τῇ τῶν διαφόρων πειρατηρίων προσαγωγῇ, ἀσφαλῶς διδασκόντων ἡμᾶς τὸ ἄστατον καὶ ἀπατηλὸν ἐκάστου τῶν τὸ τοιοῦτο ὕψωμα ἐργαζομένων.

5 νυπιότητος V || 6 ἐκμαλωτίζοντα V || 8 Χαλάννης *correx*it Büttner: χαλάνης V |  
 καθερέως V

- [7] ζ' Ἀγαθότητος ἄβυσσος ὁ πλάσας ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχει Θεός, ἐν οὐδενὶ κακύνεσθαι βούλεται τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ταλαιπωρῶν ταύτην τῷ πρωτοπλάστῳ κατεσκευάσατο· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὴν ἄνεσιν ὁ ἐχθρὸς συνεργάτην λαβὼν ὑπεσκέλισε τὸν Ἀδάμ, τὴν ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ θλίψιν εἰς τὸ  
 5 πάλιν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ἐξεπέσομεν ἀμελήσαντες, ἐπιδράξασθαι ὠκονόμησε, ὑπαλλάττων ἡμᾶς ἐν σοφίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ χρηστότητι πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀπορρήτου μακαριότητος κληρουχίαν.

3 πρωτοπλάστῳ V | ἄναισιν V || 6 ὑπαλάττων V || 7 ἀπορήτου V

- [8] η' Ἔστι τι παρὰ τοῖς οὖσι *περ τῇ* ἑαυτοῦ φύσει κακόν, καὶ αὐτὸ ὀνομαζόμενον μὲν τοιοῦτον, ἀγαθοποιεῖν δὲ δυνάμενον· τὸ γοῦν φύσει καὶ φθοροποιὸν κακόν, ὅπερ ἔστι ἁμαρτία, (τὸ) δὲ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἀγαθοποιοῦ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀποσκορακίζεται· *πάσα* γὰρ *παιδεία*, φησὶν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, πρὸς  
 5 μὲν τὸ παρὸν οὐ δοκεῖ χαρᾶς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ λύπης. ὕστερον δὲ καρπὸν εἰρηνικὸν τοῖς δι' αὐτῆς γεγυμνασμένοις ἀποδίδωσι εἰς σωτηρίαν.

1 *περ τῇ* *correx*it Büttner: *περὶ τὴν* V et Büttner | φύσει V et *conservavi*: φύσιν *correx*it Büttner || 3 τὸ δὲ *correx*it: διὰ V et Büttner

- [9] θ' Πῦρ μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν θλιβομένων καρδίας συμφλέγον πειρασμός, ἐγκατάλειμμα δὲ ἐφύκε τοῦ πυρὸς ἐν ὕλῃ τινὶ γεγονότος ἢ ἐκεῖθεν σποδός· ὅσοι τοίνυν ἐν ὑπομονῇ τοὺς ἐπιόντας δέχονται πειρασμούς, καὶ καρτεροῦσι μὴ δυσχεραίνοντες, δύνανται μετὰ τοῦ θεοπάτορος λέγειν  
 5 Δαυίδ, Ὅτι σποδὸν ὥς εἰ ἄρτον ἔφαγον, διὰ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὠφελείας, τὰς ψυχὰς τρεφόμενοι καὶ παινόμενοι.

1 συμφλέγον *correx*it Büttner: συμφλέγων V || 2 πυρὸς *correx*it: πρὸ V et Büttner ||  
 6 πειαινόμενοι V

- [10] ι' Τῶν συνπιπτόντων ἡμῖν ἀλγεινῶν ἔσχατον ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς φρικωδέστατον ἢ τῆς ζωῆς ἀποστέρησις· ὑπὲρ ταύτης γὰρ πάντα καὶ

δρῶμεν καὶ πάσχομεν, καὶ τὰ ὄντα δὲ εὐχερῶς προιέμεθα, ὥστε μὴ  
 5 θανάτῳ ὑποπεσεῖν· ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος τὸ κατὰ τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος θάρσος τῇ  
 ἡμῶν ἀσθενείᾳ ἐνθείς, δι' ὧν ἐπισκίπτει μὴ φοβεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀποκτείνειν μὴ δυναμένων, τὴν  
 ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττοσι τόλμαν καὶ τὸ ἀπτόητον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἡμᾶς  
 ἐδίδαξεν· ὁ γὰρ τὸ πλεόν εισάγειν παρὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἀπαιτούμενος οὐκ  
 ἂν ποτε ὀκνήσῃ τὸ ἔλαττον, εἰ μὴ ταύτης κακῶς ἐπιλήσεται.

2 φρικοδέστατον V || 3 εὐχερῶς correxit Büttner: εὐκερῶς V || 6 ἀποκτεννόντων  
 correxi: ἀποκτενόντων V et Büttner | ἀποκτείνειν (sic) in marg. V || 7 ἀπτώη-  
 τον V

[11] **ια'** Εἰς Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν πίστεων καὶ ρίζα τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ  
 βλαστησάντων· δεῖ δὲ τῇ ἀπαρχῇ προσεικέναι τὸ ὅλον, καὶ τῆς  
 ποιότητος τῇ ρίζῃ κοινωνεῖν τὰ ἐκείθεν ἐκφύοντα. Τίς ὁ λόγος τὴν ἀπὸ  
 Χριστοῦ μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν ζητεῖσθαι προσηγορίαν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ Χριστὸν τοῦ  
 5 βίου πορείαν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἐβάδισεν, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν διαχαύνωσιν  
 ἀπαναίνεσθαι; Οὐ γὰρ πάντες, οἱ λέγοντες κύριε, κύριε, εἰσελεύσονται  
 εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος· *μιμηταί μου* γίνεσθε καθὼς  
 κἀγὼ Χριστῷ· ὥστε τοῦ πιστεύειν οὐδὲν ὀνινάμεθα, (εἰ) μὴ καθὼς ὁ  
 δεσπότης Χριστὸς τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ ζωὴν ἤνυσεν καὶ ἡμεῖς αἰροῦμεν ζῆν· τότε  
 10 γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀπαρχῇ καὶ τῇ ρίζῃ εὐρεθισόμεθα, ὅτε διὰ τῆς τῶν πειρασμῶν  
 ὑπομονῆς πολλὴν φέρομεν τὸν καρπὸν.

5-6 οἱ λέγοντες in marg. V || 8 εἰ addidit Büttner, om. V

[12] **ιβ'** Παχὺ μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ γεῶδες τὸ ἐκ τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων κραθὲν  
 παρ' ἡμῖν σῶμα, καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς τῇ φύσει βρῖθον καὶ καθέλκον τὸν  
 νοῦν ἡμῶν τὸν οὐράνιον· θεῖον δὲ τι χρῆμα τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων  
 καὶ κατὰ φύσιν διὰ παντὸς ὀρεγόμενον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἄνω καὶ κάτω  
 5 ἐφ' ἅπασιν ἀνθολκῆς συμβαίνει τὸ κουφότατον μὲν τὴν ἄνοδον ἔπασθαι,  
 τῷ βάρει δὲ τὸ κατωφερές· ὅτε τοίνυν ἡ θλίψις τὸ βαρὺ λεπτύνει  
 ἐφόλκιον, βοηθεῖ τῷ νῷ πρὸς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ὁδόν, κἀκείσε φέρει τὸν  
 ἄνθρωπον, οὗ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς καθεζόμενος.

1 στοιχεῖον V || 2 βρύθων V || 4 τῆς correxi: τοῖς V et Büttner || 5 ἄνωδον V || 6 ὅτε  
 correxi: **δι** V et Büttner || 7 νῷ correxit Büttner: **vo** V || 8 δεξιᾷ V

[13] **ιγ'** Τῆς ἐν ὕλῃ μὲν ἡδονῆς ἐστὶ **σαρκὶ καὶ** πλῆθος αἵματος καὶ βάρος  
 σώματος· ταύτην κωλύουσα, καὶ ὀδύνην ἀντίθετον ἐπεισάγουσα, (ἡ  
**θλίψις**) τὴν τοῦ σαρκικοῦ βάρους συντίθεται· ἀπὸ φωνῆς γὰρ φησὶν τοῦ  
 στεναγμοῦ μου ἐκολλήθη τὸ ὅστουν μου τῇ **σαρκί** μου.

1 σαρκὶ καὶ correxi: **σαρκακαὶ** V, **σαρρικῇ** Büttner || 2-3 ἡ **θλίψις** addidi || 4 ἐκού-  
 θη V

[14] **ιδ'** Οὐδεὶς καθαρὸς ἐπικαλέσαι τὸν Θεὸν δύναται μὴ πτερώσας τὸν  
 νοῦν πρὸς Αὐτόν· ἕως γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ματαιότητα, καὶ ζητεῖ τὸ ψεῦδος,  
 διώκων τὰ πρόσυλα, καὶ ὡς ἐστῶτα τὰ φεύγοντα λογιζόμενος, ἐπὶ



χώρας ἔστηκεν ἀλλοτρίας, ἐν ᾗ τὴν ὥδην Κυρίου ἀδύνατον ἄδεσθαι· ἀλλ' ἡ  
 5 θλίψις ὑπερφρονεῖ τῶν ματαίων, παρασκευάζουσα, ἐκ τούτων γὰρ καὶ  
 ἐπὶ τούτοις βλαστάνει, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἄνω φέρει τὸν νοῦν, καὶ αὐτὸν  
 καθαρῶς ἐπικαλεῖσθαι δίδωσιν· θλίψιν γὰρ φησὶν καὶ ὁδύνην εὖρον, καὶ  
 τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐπεκαλεσάμην.

8 εὖρων V

[15] **ΙΕ'** Οὐκ ἔστι τὰς σωτηρίους ἐντολὰς ἐν ὑπομονῇ κατορθοῦν, καρπο-  
 φορεῖν θεῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀγαθὴν γῆν, τὰς τῶν καλῶν σπερμάτων ἐπι-  
 καρπίας ζητεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἀκριβῆ σχοίημεν τούτων εἴδησιν· ὧν γάρ τις διὰ  
 5 τῆς γνώσεως μὴ βεβάδικε, τίνα τρόπον ἔσται κατορθωτής; Τὴν δὲ  
 γνῶσιν ἡ ἐμμελεστάτη μελέτη δίδωσιν, ταύτην δὲ αἱ τῶν πειρασμῶν  
 χορηγοῦσιν ἐπιφοραί· θλίψεις γὰρ φησὶ καὶ ἀνάγκαι ἠῤῥωσάν με, αἱ  
 ἐντολαί σου μελέτη μου· ὡς ὁ γε ζητῶν τούτων μὲν ἐκτὸς οὐ μελετήσῃ  
 τὰς καθαδικὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐντολὰς, μὴ μελετῶν δ' οὐ γνώσῃ· ἡγνοήκως  
 10 δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ πόρρω βαδιεῖ τοῦ θελήματος, ἀπονεύσας δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ  
 ἐναντίον τραπήσεται· τῇ δὲ τοιαύτῃ περιτροπῇ ἡ μετὰ δαιμόνων ἐν τῇ  
 Γεέννῃ κατάκρισις ἔψεται, ἥς ἀρχὴ τὸ ἀποδιδράσκειν τοὺς πειρασμούς.

4 κατορθωτής correxi: κατορθότης V et Büttner || 5 ἡ correxi: οἱ V et Büttner: |  
 ἐμμελεστάτη μελέτη correxit Büttner: ἐμμελεστάτην μελέτην V || 6 χορηγοῦσιν V  
 || 8 ἡγνοήκως correxi: ἡγνοήκός V ἡγνωνήκως Büttner || 11 γεαίνῃ V

[16] **ΙΖ'** Ἀσκοῦσιν οἱ θλίβοντες καὶ ἐπηρεάζοντες τῶν πασχόντων κακῶς  
 περιγίνεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν νικόντων μοίρᾳ καθίστασθαι· ἀλλ' εἰ ἔγνω-  
 σαν, τοὺς ψυχικοὺς ἀνοίξαντες ὀφθαλμούς, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν εἰσὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 5 μισανθρώπου δαίμονος ἐνεργούμενοι καὶ καταστρεφόμενοι, ᾧ καὶ εἰς  
 ὄργανα πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφικὴν ὑπηρετήσαν κάκωσιν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὸν τῶν  
 παρακλήσεων Κύριον ἔχουσι, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν παθημάτων ῥωννύοντες  
 πρὸς ὑπομονήν, ἑαυτοὺς μὲν ἂν ὠλοφύροντο τῆς ἐσχάτης ἥττης, ὡς  
 μετὰ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόστολος λέγων ὡς, οὐκ εἰμί ἱκανός  
 10 καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος, ὅτι ἐδίωξα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τοὺς δὲ πίπτειν  
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν νομιζομένους ἐζήλωσάν τε καὶ ἐμακάρισαν, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς  
 παρίστησι Παῦλος τοῖς ποτε διωκομένοις συγκακουχεῖσθαι δεξάμενος.

1 ἐπηρεάζοντες V || 2 νικόντων V || 7 ὠλοφύροντο V || 11 ποτέ V

[17] **ΙΖ'** Τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ἐπιτιμίῳις καθέστηκεν ἡ ζωή· οἱ δὲ  
 ἀμέμπτως ἔναντι θεοῦ πολιτεύονται, καὶ τούτοις συντελεῖ **κάκείνοις** τὸ  
 πάσχειν κακῶς, τῶν μὲν οἷον πῦρ χωνευτήριον **ἐκδαπανῶν** τὰ μελίσμα-  
 5 τα, τοῖς δὲ στεφάνων προσθήκη καὶ ἱερῶν μετουσία. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον  
 Ἰσαίας δείκνυσιν λέγων· δι' ἁμαρτίας βραχύ τι ἐλύπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπάταξα,  
 καὶ ἀπέστρεψα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐλυπήθη καὶ ἐπορεύθη  
 στυγνὸς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἰασάμην αὐτόν, καὶ δέδωκα αὐτῷ παράκλησιν  
 ἀληθινήν· τοῦ δευτέρου δὲ Ἰωβ καὶ Παῦλος μαρτυρεῖ.

1 Τοὺς correxi: Τοῖς V et Büttner || 2 ἀμέμπτως correxit Büttner: ἀμέπτως V |

κάκεινοις correcti: **κάκεινως** V et Büttner || 3 πύρ V | χονευτήριον V | ἐκδαπανῶν  
correcti: ἐκδαπανῶν V ἐκδαπανὸν Büttner

- [18] ιη' Τῶν πειραζομένων οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ὥς οἱ γενναίοφρονες τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ ἀθληταί, ἢ ἀληθείας ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον πράγμασι, ὥσει  
ὑπεραδικούμενοι, ζηλοῦνται, καὶ ὀρίζονται, ἢ συκοφαντοῦνται, ἢ ἀπο-  
στεροῦνται, ἢ διώκονται, ἢ μαστίζονται, ἢ ἄλλως πάσχουσι· οἱ καὶ θαρ-  
5 ροῦντες δύνανται πρὸς Θεὸν λέγειν, ὅτι Ἐνεκά σου θανατούμεθα ὅλην  
τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐφ' οἷς τὸ τῆς δόξης πνεῦμα ἐπαναπέπαυται· γίνονται γὰρ τῶν  
παθῶν Χριστοῦ κοινωνοί· οἱ δὲ ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ ἐμφανεῖ αἰτία ἐναντιότητος  
τῆς ἐν τοῖς πειράζουσι, μόνης δὲ χάριν φιλαργυρίας ἐκείνων, καὶ τῆς  
περὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχόντων σχέσεως, συκοφαντοῦνται, καὶ ζημιου-  
10 νται, καὶ ἄλλως θλίβονται, καὶ φονεύονται, ὥς Ναβουθαὶ διὰ τὸν ἀμπε-  
λῶνα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀχαάβ.

Ἔδοξαν οὖν τισὶ τῶν προτέρων οἱ δεῦτεροι κατὰ τὰς ἀντιδόσεις τοῦ  
μισθοῦ λείπεσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ προφανῶς μὲν ἐκείνοι τὸ τῆς παρακλήσεως  
ἔχουσιν αἴτιον, παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν τοῦ πάσχειν καιρὸν τὰς ὁδύνας κουφί-  
15 ζον, τούτοις δ' οὐδέν ἐστὶ ἐμφανὲς καὶ εὐπρόοπτον τὸ παρακαλέσον, ἐφ'  
ὧ καὶ ὁδύρονται βαρύτερον **συλλογίσασθε** τοῖς ἐν εὐθύτητι κρίνουσι,  
ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶ συναγόμενον ὥς εἰ καὶ μὴ πλείονος, τῆς αὐτῆς γοῦν ἢ  
ἐγγυτάτω, μισθαποδοσίας οἱ δεῦτεροι τεύχονται, μακροθύμως τὰ συμ-  
πίπτοντα φέροντες, ἢ εἰς λύτρον ἀμαρτημάτων τὰ συμβαίνοντα πειρα-  
20 τήρια τούτοις οἴσονται.

2 ἐν τοῖς correcti Büttner: τοῖς ἐν ταῖς V || 3 ζηλοῦνται in marg. V | ὀρίζονται V ||  
3-4 ἀπὸ στεροῦνται V || 7 οἱ δὲ correcti: **εἰ δὲ** V et Büttner | οὐδεμιᾷ V || 8 τῆς  
correcti: τοῖς V et Büttner || 9 τῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχόντων correcti: τὸν αὐτῆς ὑπάρ-  
χοντα V et Büttner | ὑπάρχοντα σχέσεως in marg. V || 10 ναβουθέ V || 13 λείπεσθαι  
V || 14 τὸν: τῶν V || 14-15 κουφίζων V || 15 τούτοις correcti: **τούτον** V et Büttner ||  
16-17 ἐφ' ὧ correcti: **ἐφ' ὧν** V et Büttner || 16 συλλογίσασθε correcti:  
**συλλογίσασθαι** V et Büttner || 17 ὅτι correcti: **τί** V et Büttner

- [19] ιθ' Δογμάτων νοσοῦντες διαστροφὴν οἱ διώκται τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐπιφύον-  
ται· χρημάτων νοσήσας ἔρωτα ὁ Ἰούδας τὸν διδάσκαλον προέδωκε·  
βαρύτερον τῷ μαθητῇ τὸ κατάκριμα· οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶν, τῷ δὲ πάθει  
τυφλούμενος τὸ συγγενὲς ἀπηνήσατο. Μανθανέτωσαν οἱ πλεονεκτικοί  
5 τὸ ὑπόδειγμα, καὶ τὸν κρημνὸν τοῦ πτώματος εὐλαβεῖσθωσαν.

3 τῷ δὲ πάθει correcti: **τὸ δὲ πάθη** V, τὰ δὲ πάθη correcti Büttner || 5 κρημνὸν V

- [20] κ' Δύο εἰς τὴν παλαιστραν καταβαινόντων ἄν, ὁ μὲν ὑπ' ἀλείπτῃ καὶ  
συνεργάτῃ προφανῶς παρεστῶτι καὶ θαρροῦντι ὑποστῇ τὸν ἀγῶνα,  
ἄτερος δὲ τοιοῦτου τινὸς δίχα κονίσηται καὶ ἀνδρίσηται· ποῖος τούτων ὁ  
δοκιμώτερος, ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ὁ δεύτερος συνίεται, εἰ μηδεμιᾶς προηγη-  
5 σαμένης αἰτίας ὑπὸ τινων **ἐπειραζόμενοι**, τούτοις καρτερῶς **ἐνεγκών**  
τε **τάξασθαι**;

5 ἐπειραζόμενοι V conservavi: **ἐπηρεάζεσθε** scripsit Büttner | τούτοις scripsit

Büttner: οἷς V | ἐνεγκών τε correxi: ἐνεγκώντες V, ἐνεγκόντες scripsit Büttner || 6 τάξασθαι accepi: τετάξασθαι V, τάξασθε correxit Büttner

- [21] κα' Τοὺς ἀμετόχους παιδείας ὁ μὲν θεῖος Ἀπόστολος νόθους ἡγεῖται καὶ οὐχ υἱούς, ὃς τοίνυν διὰ ταύτης υἱοθετεῖ ἀδελφούς· εἰς παιδείαν γὰρ φησιν ὑπομένετε· ὡς υἱοῖς ὑμῖν προσφέρεται. Μὴ ἐγκλείου, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πειρασθῆναι παραχωρούμενος, τὸ δὲ κέρδος οἷον σκοπῶν, Πᾶσαν ἡγήση
- 5 χάριν, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα, ὅταν πειρασμοὶς περιπείρῃ ποικίλοις.

2 ὃς correxi: ἡ correxit Büttner, οἷ V | ἀδελφούς correxi, ἀδελφόν V ἐτ Büttner (et sign. interr. add. Büttner) || 3 ἡμῖν V | ἐγκλείου V || 4 παραχωρούμενος V | ἡγεῖσαι V

- [22] κβ' Τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τινὶ ἐν ἐλεημοσύνῃ κενούμενα λύτρον ψυχῆς τῷ κενοῦντι γίνεται. Τί οὖν; Εἰ βιαίως διαρπαγῶσι, τοῖς ἀποστερηθεῖσι ἂν καρτερήσωσιν εἰς ζημίαν; Οὐ φησὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος· τὴν ἀρπαγὴν γὰρ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μετὰ χαρᾶς δέξασθε, γινώσκοντες ἔχειν ἑαυτοῖς κρείττονα
- 5 ὑπαρξιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ μένουσαν;

4 δέξασθαι V | κρεῖττον V

- [23] κγ' Ὁ υἱὸς γεννᾶται σιδήρῳ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τὸ τέκνον βιβρώσκεται κατὰ βραχὺ δαπανώμενος· καὶ λύπην ἢ ἁμαρτία εἰσενεγκοῦσα δι' αὐτῆς ἡνέγκατο τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. Οἱ γοῦν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αὐτῶν εὐρόντες καὶ μισήσαντες, συνεργάτην πρὸς ἄλλοτρίωσιν ταύτης τὴν λύπην δέχονται.

1 Ὁ υἱὸς correxi: Ἰησοῦς V et Büttner || 2 δαπανώμενος V || 3 εὐρόντες V || 4 συνεργάτην correxit Büttner: συνεργάτη V

- [24] κδ' Ἔστι καὶ λύπη τοῖς πάσχουσι οὐκ ἐπωφελής, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχικὸν μάλιστα κατεργαζομένη θάνατον· ὅταν ἐπ' ἀδελφικοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οὐ τιμώμεθα καὶ τῷ ζήλῳ παροξυνώμεθα, ἐγκοτοῦμεν δὲ καὶ βασκαίνουμεν, καὶ αὐθις ὅταν ὑπὸ Κυρίου παιδευόμενοι πέραν τοῦ καθήκοντος δυσανασχετῶμεν, καὶ ἐκλυώμεθα, καὶ τὴν παιδείαν οὐ φέρωμεν· μακάριος δὲ ἀνὴρ, ὃς ὑπομένει πειρασμόν, ὅτι δόκιμος γενόμενος λήψεται τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς.

2 μάλιστα V || 3 παροξυνόμεθα V || 5 ἐκλυόμεθα V

- [25] κε' Ἐνανθρωπήσας ὁ παντοδύναμος Κύριος δι' ἡμᾶς οὐ τῇ μοίρᾳ τῶν πλουτούντων καὶ δυνατῶν, τῇ δὲ τῶν πενιχρῶν καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι πεφυκότων ἑαυτὸν ἐγκατέλεξε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπηρεαστὰς ἰσχύων ἀμύνεσθαι εὐεργεσίαις μᾶλλον ἡμείβετο, ἵνα μήτε ἐπὶ πενία ἐγκαλυπτώμεθα·
- 5 τροφὸς γὰρ αὕτη Χριστοῦ· καὶ μακροθύμως φέρωμεν τὰ συμπίπτοντα· οἱ γὰρ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὀδεύσαντες καὶ τῆς δόξης Αὐτοῦ κοινωνοῦσι· εἴπερ γὰρ φησὶν συμπάσχομεν, ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν.

3 ἀγκατέλεξαι V | ἐπηρεαστὰς V || 4 ἐγκαλυπτόμεθα V || 5 φέρομεν V

- [26] κς' Μάταιοι οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοῦ κακύνεσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς κακοποιοῖς ἐπιρρίπτοντες, ὡς οὐκ ἐξδὸν τῇ προνοίᾳ δι' ἐτέρων ἡμᾶς

θλίψαι· ὅπου γε καὶ γυνή καὶ παῖς καὶ οἰκέτης καὶ ἵππος καὶ κύων  
 πρόσκομμα καὶ ὄλισθος ἐκχώρησαντος τοῦ δεσπότου Θεοῦ, τὸν τοῦ  
 5 πλῆττοντος ἡμᾶς τόπον ἐπλήρωσαν. **Οὐκοῦν** τοῖς τὸ πᾶν διεξάγουσι  
 λόγοις ἀναθετέον τῆς παιδείας τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὸ ταύτης ὄργανον οὐκ  
 αἰτιατέον· ἔχει γὰρ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐξουσίαν οὐδεὶς, εἰ μὴ ἔστιν αὐτῷ  
 δεδομένη ἄνωθεν· εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν ἱμᾶντα ὁ μαστιζόμενος καὶ τὸν καυστι-  
 10 κὸν σίδηρον ὁ καιόμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ μαστίζοντος αἰτιάσεται καὶ τοῦ  
 καίοντος.

2 ἐπιρύπτοντες V | ἐξὼν V || 5 οὐκοῦν Büttner || 6 ἀναθετᾶτον V || 8 ἱμᾶντα V

[27] **κζ'** Οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τοὺς τῆς θείας προνοίας λόγους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐκάστου  
 τῶν γινομένων ἀνευρίσκειν ἀσφαλῶς οὐ δυνάμεθα, διὰ τοῦτο ἔστι τι  
 παρὰ τοῖς συμπίπτουσιν ἡμῖν περιστατικῶς ἀλόγιστον· ὥς γὰρ ἐν σοφίᾳ  
 πάντα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός, οὕτω καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ποιεῖ. Ἡμέτερον οὖν ἔστι  
 5 διδαχθῆναι παρὰ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων, ὥς οὐδὲ ἡ τῶν στρουθῶν εἰς παγίδα  
 πτώσις παρὰ γνώμην ἔσται Θεοῦ· καὶ ἔστι πεπεῖσθαι, ὥς οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ  
 Ἀγαθοῦ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν γίνεται ἢ γενήσεται, καὶ οὕτω μετ' εὐχαριστίας  
 φέρειν ἐφ' ἅπασιν, ἀλγοῦντας μὲν πρὸς μικρόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἰατρευο-  
 μένοις ἔπεται τοῦτο, εὐχαριστοῦντας δὲ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι διὰ πάντων ἡμῖν  
 10 ψυχικὸν πραγματεύεται ἴαμα.

[28] **κη'** Οὐκ ἀγαθύνοντι μόνον ἐξομολογεῖσθαι δεῖ τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ  
 παιδεύοντι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτου τὸ τέλος ἂν γε βουλώμεθα πρὸς ἡμετέραν  
 τείνει ἀγαθωσύνην· ἔδειξαν τὸ τοιοῦτο ὅσοι μακροθύμως τὰς θλίψεις  
 ὑπήνεγκαν· ὁ μὲν θεάδελφος λέγων, Τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἰὼβ ἠκούσατε καὶ τὸ  
 5 τέλος Κυρίου εἶδετε· ὁ δὲ θεῖος ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, Οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα  
 τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.

2 βουλόμεθα V || 3 ἀγαθωσύνην V | τὸ τοιοῦτον V

[29] **κθ'** Οὐ θαρρεῖν τοὺς ἐπηρεαστάς ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεῖ, ὥς τῆς ἐτέρων ψυχικῆς  
 ἰατρείας τῇ προνοίᾳ γίνονται ὄργανα· τοῖς γὰρ σιδηρεῦσιν ἐκεῖνο πρὸς  
 σφύραν καὶ ἄκμονα καθίσταται τὸ σίδηρον, ὃ διὰ φυσικὴν ἀντιτυπίαν  
 μὴ μαλαττόμενον τῷ πυρί, πρὸς τι σκευὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῷ βίῳ  
 5 τυπωθῆναι οὐ πέφυκε.

1 ἐπὶ τούτῳ correxit Büttner: ἐπὶ τοῦτο V | δεῖ: δὴ V

[30] **λ'** Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἀσσύριοι, παρὰ Θεοῦ τούτοις **ἐκδοθέντα** τὸν Ἰσράηλ,  
 ἔταπείνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἔδωκαν δίκην τῆς σφῶν ὠμότητος, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὥς  
 Θεῷ διακονοῦντες, οἰκεία δὲ ὠμότητι πάθη δουλεύοντες τὰ δεινὰ  
 ἐκείνοις δεδράκασιν· ὅθεν καὶ διὰ Ζαχαρίου φησὶν Θεός· *ἐζήλωσα τὴν*  
 5 *Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὴν Σιών ζῆλον μέγαν, καὶ ὄργην μεγάλην ἐγὼ ὀργίζομαι ἐπὶ*  
*τοὺς συνεπιτιθεμένους ὑμῖν, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν ὠργίσθην ὀλίγα, αὐτοὶ δὲ*  
*συνέθεντο ὑμῖν κακά.*

1 ἐκδοθέντα correxi: **ἐκδοθέντες** V et Büttner || 5 μέγαν correxit Büttner: μέγα V  
 || 6 συνεπιτιθεμένους V

- [31] λα' τῶν θλιβερῶν ἐπιφορῶν, αἱ μὲν, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκούσιοι, αἱ δέ, πᾶμπαν ἀκούσιοι· δοκοῦσι δὲ τῶν ἐκουσίων ἐπικερδέστερα τὰ ἀκούσια τοῖς φέρουσιν ἐν ὑπομονῇ, ὥς τῶν οἰκιοθελῶν πόνων οἱ ἐξ ἐπιταγμάτων βαρύτεροι· ἕκαστος δὲ τὸν μισθὸν κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον λήψεται.

2 πᾶμπαν V || 2 ἐπὶ κερδέστερα V || 3 οἰκιοθελῶν V

- [32] λβ' Ἔστιν ὅτε τοῖς ἐκούσι πονήμασι παρηνόχλησεν οἷσιν, καὶ τὸν σπαρέντα κόκκον ἔδειξεν ἄκαρπον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν παρὰ γνώμην ἡμετέραν ἔκτοθεν, συστολῇ τοῦ φρονήματος ἔπεται τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὑπομονῆς κέρδος φυλάττουσιν.

1 παρηνόχλησεν V || 3 ἔπεται V

- [33] λγ' Ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ θλίψιν ἔξετε τοῖς μαθηταῖς προεῖπεν ὁ Κύριος· εἰ τοίνυν ἀδύνατον ψεύσασθαι τὴν **Αὐτοαλήθειαν**, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἄλλως ἔχειν ἀδύνατον, οἱ δὲ ζητοῦντες μὴ θλίβεσθαι τοῦ μακαρίου τούτου χώρου ἑαυτοὺς ἀφορίζουσι.

1 θλίψιν V || 2 αὐτοαλήθειαν V post corr.: αὐτοῦ ἀληθειαν V ante corr. et Büttner || 3 χωρὸς V

- [34] λδ' Οὐκ ἔστι θεοφιλὴς ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ θλίβειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δήποτε τὸ ὁμοιογενὲς μὴ παραιτουμένου· ὁ γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἐώρακε, μὴ ἀγαπῶν, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ μισῶν, τὸν θεόν, ὃν οὐχ ἐώρακε, πῶς ἀγαπήσει; Ὅσοι γοῦν τὴν ἐκ τῆς πονηρᾶς ψυχῆς δεδοίκασιν θλίψιν, καὶ πειραθῆναι ταύτης **φυλάσσονται**, ἀρέσκειν αὐτῇ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου μηχανήσονται. Πῶς δ' ἂν εἶεν δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ, οἱ μὴ ἀνθρώποις ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιούτοις ἀρέσκονται;

5 φυλάσσονται V: φυλάττονται Büttner

- [35] λε' Ἐλπιζομένων ὑπόστασιν καὶ πραγμάτων ἔλεγχον μὴ βλεπομένων, ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόστολος τὴν πίστιν ὠρίαστο· δέδοικα τοίνυν, μὴ δειλιῶντες τὰς θλίψεις εὐρεθῶμεν περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀβέβαιοι· ὥς γὰρ ὁ μικροῦ κτήματος ἂν τι κτῶμενος μείζονα γέγηθεν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ βραχείας καὶ καιρικῆς **δυσπαθείας** πολλὴν καὶ αἰωνίαν ἄνεσιν πεπεισμένος ἀντιλαβεῖν χαρίζεται, εἰ δὲ μὴ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἡσθένησεν, ἐξ ἧς ἡ πίστις ὀρίζεται.

4 μείζονα V || 5 δυσπαθείας in marg. V

- [36] λς' Τὸν ἔλεγχον ὁ Σωτὴρ, τῆς κατὰ τὴν πίστιν στερεμνιότητος τούτων τέθηκε· κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ, καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας οἰκία μεμένηκεν ἀσφαλῆς· φοβηθῶμεν τὴν ἐπὶ ψάμμου οἰκοδομὴν οἱ τοῖς θλιβεροῖς τινασσόμενοι.

2 τέθεικε V || 3 οἰκεῖα V

- [37] λζ' Τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ πατέρες ἀρχὴν εἰρήκασιν εἶναι τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τῆς χρηστότητος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῖς προσκαίροις δικαιοτηρίοις τὴν

- τῶν αἰωνιζόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμῶν παραπτώμασι διακρουομένου σφοδρό-  
τητα. Ὅ ταῦτα γοῦν ἀπωθούμενος τὰ κουφότερα τοῖς βαρυτέροις ἔλαθεν  
5 ἐαυτὸν ἐκδιδούς.

3 διακρουομένου V: διακρουόμενος Büttner || 3-4 σφοδρώτητα V || 4 ἀποθούμενος V

- [38] λη' Τέσσαρας ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος παρ' ἡμῖν ἐμφαίνεσθαι νόμους φιλο-  
σοφεῖ, κατὰ συζυγίαν συνισταμένους καὶ διισταμένους ἀλλήλων· ὦν  
τοὺς μὲν ἀκροτάτους τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμον καὶ τὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας, τοὺς δέ,  
μεγιστεύοντας, καὶ ἑκάτερον ἑκατέρῳ συνεργαζόμενον, τῷ μὲν τοῦ  
5 Θεοῦ νόμῳ, τὸν τοῦ νοός, τῷ δὲ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, τὸν τῆς σαρκός· σκο-  
πήσωμεν ὅσος ὁ κίνδυνος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν διὰ τοῦ σαρκικοῦ βίου τῆς  
δικαιοσύνης ἄγειν εἰς τὸ ἐπίπροσθεν.

2 διισταμένους V || 6 βίου in marg. V

- [39] λθ' Ὡσπερ ἐστὶ φύσει παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ γεώδης σάρξ, οὕτω καὶ νοῦς τὸ  
κρεῖττον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν· ἔχεφρόνων οὖν καὶ εὐσεβοφρόνων ἀνδρῶν τῷ  
τοῦ κρεῖττονος νόμῳ διδόναι ῥοπήν, καὶ τὸ ἐπικρατέστερον σῶζεσθαι τῇ  
δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ μὴ τισὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συμφύρειν καὶ πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν οὕτως  
5 αἰχμαλωτίζεσθαι.

1 ὡσπερ ἐστὶ V || 3 ῥοπήν correxit Büttner: ῥοπή V || 4 συμφύρειν correxit Büttner:  
συμφύρει V || 5 ἐκ-μαλωτίζεσθαι primum scripsit, deinde αἰχ- suprascripsit V

- [40] μ' Νόμος Θεοῦ ἐστὶ τῶν ποιητέων, καὶ μὴ παρά τε τῇ Παλαιᾷ καὶ  
Καινῇ Διαθήκῃ ἀσφαλῆς ὑποτύπωσις, καθ' ἣν καὶ τοῦ εὖ εἶναι περιουσία  
τοῖς ἐκείθεν λαχοῦσι τὸ εἶναι.

1 τῶν ποιητέων in marg. V

- [41] μα' Νόμος νοός ἐστὶ, καθ' ὃν ἐφίεμεθα τῶν κρείττωνων καὶ διαφορῶν  
καὶ ὄντως ἡδέων, ἀπλανῶς διακρινομένων αὐτῷ, καθ' ὃν ἔσχε θεόθεν  
ἐξουσίαν ὀφθαλμοῦ χώραν λαβεῖν ἐν ψυχῇ.

3 λαβεῖν correxit Büttner, λαβὼν V

- [42] μβ' Νόμος σαρκός ἐστὶ ἡδέων τῶν προσκαίρων δίωξις, ὀδυνώντων  
δ' ἀποφυγῇ, τῇ τῶν αἰσθήσεων σφαλερᾷ διοικήσει γινόμενός τε καὶ  
κρατυνόμενος.

2 σφαλερὰ V

- [43] μγ' Νόμος ἁμαρτίας ἐστὶ ὁ διὰ τῆς ψευδοῦς ἡδονῆς ἀνδραποδισμὸς τῶν  
ψυχῶν εἰς τὸ μακρὰν τοῦ θείου νόμου πλανᾶσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι.

2 πλανᾶσθαι V

- [44] μδ' Συνεργάζεται τῷ μὲν θείῳ νόμῳ τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν ἡ ὄρεξις  
τῶν πρὸς βραχὺ λυπούντων ἀνέχεσθαι πείθουσα διὰ τὴν τῶν αἰωνίων  
καθηδυνόντων ἀπόλαυσιν· δι' ἣν καθημέραν ἀποθνήσκων ὁ θεῖος Ἀπό-  
στολος πρὸς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως ἔσπευδε.

- [45] **με'** Συμπράττει τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ δαίμων τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπὶ τὰ φαντασιώδη τῆς ἐπικαίρου ζωῆς ἡδέα μεθελकुσμών, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπιπόνων ἀποτροπὴν· καθ' ἣν αἰτίαν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν ἐρήμῳ κατὰ Θεοῦ καὶ Μωσέως ἐγόγγυσε, καὶ εἰς τὰς Μαδιθηναίων παρενόμησε κόρας, καὶ Θεοῦ
- 5 ὀργῇ ἐπειράθησαν.

2 ἐπικήρου V || 2-3 τὴν — ἀποτροπὴν *correx*it Büttner: ἡ — ἀποτροπὴ V || 4 παρηνόμησε V

- [46] **μς'** Ὁ μὲν γογγυσμός τὴν τῆς πρὸς βραχὺ κακουχίας φυγὴν, ἡ δὲ πορνεία τὴν ἀπάτην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, καθ' ἣν ὁ ταλαίπωρος ἔξανδραποδίζεται νῶ, ὑπεσήμεινεν· οὕτως ὁ τῆς σαρκὸς νόμος καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, ἀπόπτωσιν παρ' ἡμῖν τιθεὶς τοῦ καλοῦ, καὶ ὑπόδικον τῷ Θεῷ τὸν
- 5 ὑπεύθυνον καθίσταται.

2 πορνία V

- [47] **μζ'** Ἔδειξεν, ὡς ὀλέθριος τοῖς τηροῦσιν αὐτὸν τῆς σαρκὸς ὁ νόμος, αὐτῆς τῆς σαρκὸς ἡ **προμήθεια**· νοσοῦσαν γὰρ ὑγιαζόντες διὰ τὴν ὀδυνώντων τὴν αἴσθησιν, φερόμεθα τὰ πολλά, λιμὸν καὶ πικρίαν καὶ τομὴν καὶ καθύσιν προτιμῶντες τῶν ἡδυνόντων, καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν
- 5 φυγαδεύοντες νόσον.

1 καὶ *addidit* Buttner post νόμος sed superfluum mihi videtur || 2 προμήθεια *correxi*: **προμυθία** V et Büttner || 3 ὀδυνόντων V

- [48] **μη'** Φρίζωμεν, ἀδελφοί, καὶ πενθήσωμεν, ταῖς μὲν ὀλίγαις τῆς κάτω ζωῆς ἡμέραις τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ βελτίονος χαριζόμενοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς **ἑαυτοὺς** μὴ παραλογιζόμενοι, καὶ τὸν χαλεπὸν ἀποθνήσκοντες θάνατον.

1 φρίζωμεν V || 3 ἑαυτοὺς cum V *conservavi*: **ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς** *innecessarie correxit* Büttner || 3 χαλαιπὸν V

- [49] **μθ'** Οἰκονομεῖ διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἡμετέραν ζωὴν ὁ Θεός, νῦν μὲν εὐπάθειαν πρὸς εὐχαριστίαν ὑποθεῖς, νῦν δὲ δυσπάθειαν πρὸς παιδαγωγίαν ἐπιφέρων ἡμῖν· οἱ γοῦν ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ δυσανασχετοῦντες, οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τὸ πρότερον ἀγνωμονοῦντες ἐλέγχονται.

4 ἀγνωμονοῦντες V

- [50] **ν'** Ἀγαθοποιεῖ αἰεὶ ὁ Κύριος ὡς ἀγαθός· διὸ καὶ εὐθύς ἐστί, καὶ εὐθύτητας εἶδε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Δαυίδ· ὁ δὲ κακοποιὸς ἄνθρωπος πάντως κακός· διὸ καὶ σκολιὸς ὢν σκολιότητος οἶδε τεχνάζεσθαι. Εἰ οὖν ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ ἀγαθῷ καὶ εὐθεῖ Δεσπότη, πῶς ἐκφυγεῖν
- 5 ἐθέλει τῶν ἀντικειμένων καὶ κακῶν σκολιῶν, καὶ δυναστῶν τὰς σκολιότητας; Οὐ χρὴ οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμπίπτουσι ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀνιστοῦντες λυπεῖσθαι, γινώσκοντες, ὅτι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀγαθὸν Δεσπότην ἐλπίδα ἡμῶν οἱ ἐνταῦθα δεινοὶ πόνοι παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν δούλων ἡμῖν καταρ-

- 10 τύονται, πᾶσαν δὲ χαρὰν μᾶλλον ἡγεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον  
καὶ ἱεράρχην, ὅτε πειρασμοῖς περιπέσωμεν ποικίλοις, δεῖγμα ἔχοντες  
ἐνεργές τὰς ἐκ τῶν τῆς πονηρίας δυνάμεων κακώσεις, ὅτι τοῖς αὐτῶν  
θελήμασι μακρυνόμενοι τῷ θελήματι τῶν ἀγαθῶν δυνάμεων ἀκολου-  
θοῦμεν καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῷ Θεῷ οἰκειούμεθα.

1-2 εὐθύτητας V et Büttner: εὐθύτητα LXX (Rahlfs) || 2 οἶδε V || 4 ἀκολουθεῖ cor-  
rexit Büttner: ἀκόλουθον V || 5 ἀντικοιμένων V || 6 χρεῖ V || 7 ἐλπίδα correxit  
Büttner, ἐλπιν V || 8 οἱ — πόνοι correxit Büttner: τοὺς — πόνους V

## Conclusion

In this article only a fraction of the information supplied by Dr Büttner in his thesis has been presented; for example, he gives significant parallels to be found in spiritual writers contemporary with Leo, and also a very useful word-list. In addition the rest of his thesis builds up a well-documented picture of the personality of Leo, along with the text of his famous three letters. However, this short introduction to a newly found work may serve to whet the appetite of English-speaking scholars — and serve as a presentation of yet another outstanding Byzantine writer.

## SUMMARY

Presentation and English translation (accompanied by the Greek text) of a newly found collection of *Kephalaia* (spiritual chatpers) published in the doctoral theses of Dr. Büttner (2007); attributed to Leo of Ohrid, these short sentences display a different aspect of an important eleventh century polemicist and Archbishop.

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## The Trouble with ἐπιφέρτο: Basil's *Hexaemeron* 2.6 in Context

In his exegesis of the πνεῦμα Θεοῦ in *Hexaemeron* 2.6 Basil tries to “draw closer to the sense of the Scripture” through the use of a Syrian source.<sup>1</sup> Because his analysis does actually approach the meaning of the Hebrew text underlining the LXX, Basil’s argument in *Hex.* 2.6 has played a significant role in the Christian interpretive tradition.<sup>2</sup> Besides posing a Syriac explanation of the Hebrew text, Basil’s explanation also allowed later Christian interpreters to avoid a very troublesome LXX translation of Genesis 1:2. Many scholars have written about the identity of this mysterious Syrian exegete.<sup>3</sup> Yet few of these authors have dis-

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<sup>1</sup> Basil, *Hex.* 2.6. In this study the Greek text of the *Hexaemeron* has been taken from the SC edition unless otherwise noted. See Stanislas Giet, ed., *Basil de Césarée, Homélies sur L’Hexaéméron* (SC 26; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968). The English translation of Agnes Clare Way from the *Fathers of the Church* series has been used here and in following notes. See Agnes Clare Way, *Saint Basil: Exegetic Homilies* (FC 46; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1963). Footnote references to the *Hexaemeron* in this study will list the reference in the SC edition, not the page number in the English translation. For a more recent edition of the Greek text see E. A. de Mendieta and S. Y. Rudberg, *Basilios von Caesarea Homilien zum Hexaemeron* (GCS, NF 2; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> Through Basil the interpretation of the Spirit as a “roosting hen” appears in Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, etc. See Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible. A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 131 n. 122. For an excellent treatment of Basil’s exegesis of this passage in the *Hexaemeron* see M. Naldini, “Sull’interpretazione esamerale di Gen. 1,2 ‘Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas,’” in *Mémorial Dom Jean Gribomont* (Studia Ephem. Augustin. 27; Rome, 1988): 445-452. Naldini provides additional notes and bibliographical references in M. Naldini, *Basilio di Cesarea sulla Genesi (Omelia sull’Esamerone)* (Milan: Fond. L. Valla, Mondadori, 1990), 326-328.

<sup>3</sup> This mysterious exegete was very likely Eusebius of Emesa. See Lucas Van Rompay, “L’informateur syrien de Basil de Césarée: à propos de Genèse 1,2,” *OCP* 58 (1992): 245-251. For more studies on Basil’s Syrian source see David Taylor, “Basil of Caesarea’s contacts with Syriac-speaking Christians,” E. A. Livingstone, ed., *StPatr.* 32 (1997): 204-210; Naldini, “Sull’interpretazione esamerale di Gen. 1,2,” 447-448; Naldini, *Basilio di Cesarea sulla Genesi*, 327-328; J. R. Pouchet, “Les rapports de Basil de Césarée avec Diodore de Tarse,” *BLE* 87 (1986): 262-268. For a fuller context and possible relationships with Antiochenes such as Diodore see Richard Lim, “The Politics of Interpretation in Basil of Caesarea’s *Hexaemeron*,” *VC* 44 (1990): 351-370.

cussed possible reasons why Basil chose to expound the meaning of the original Semitic *Vorlage* instead of the Greek ἐπιφέρειτο.<sup>4</sup>

This paper will analyze Basil's curious methodology in *Hex.* 2.6. I will suggest that his methodology reflects confusion over the proper meaning of ἐπιφέρειτο in the LXX of Genesis 1:2 among Basil's contemporaries. Allusions to Genesis 1:2 in Manichaean and Gnostic texts help establish the context of Basil's argument against these opponents in the *Hexaemeron*. Motivated by a high Pneumatology and his pastoral concerns Basil avoided the ambiguities surrounding the LXX's ἐπιφέρειτο by appealing to his Syriac-speaking source.

### *The Text*

One of Basil's stated goals in the first four homilies of the *Hexaemeron* is to encourage a more literal understanding of the early chapters of Genesis among his congregation. To achieve this goal, in these opening chapters Basil discourages allegorical or mystical interpretations of Genesis which he believed had been abused by earlier writers. So in Homily 2.4 Basil argues that the "darkness" is not really a dualistic "evil power," as Manichaeans believed, but it is an atmosphere in shadow without any light shining upon it.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, he responds that the "deep" is not a "mass of opposing powers, as some have imagined," but a physical chasm or abyss.<sup>6</sup> In this same chapter Basil also tells his listeners to take "heaven," "earth," and "water" as physical realities. Basil encourages his listeners to pass "over in silence all figurative and allegorical explanation at the present time" and keep to the simple straightforward reading of Scripture.<sup>7</sup> This type of literal reading logically leads to his introductory statement in the beginning of *Hex.* 2.6:

If this spirit means the diffusion of the air, understand that the author is enumerating to you the parts of the world, saying that God created the heavens, the earth, water, and air; and this later was spreading and flowing.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> This subject is touched upon in Naldini, "Sull'interpretazione esamereale di Gen. 1,2," 449-450.

<sup>5</sup> Basil, *Hex.* 2.4. All English translations of the *Hexaemeron* have been taken from Agnes Clare Way's translation. See footnote 1 above.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 2.4.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 2.5.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 2.6.

Overall, Basil claims to be following the literal, straightforward reading of Scripture.

Suddenly, however, Basil makes a drastic shift after lecturing to his audience that "heavens," "earth," "water," "deep," and "darkness" must be understood in literal terms. The next sentence continues:

Or [Εἴτε], what is truer [ἀληθέστερον] and approved by those before us, the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of God ... Admitting this meaning, you will find the advantage from it greater.<sup>9</sup>

In a surprise shift Basil contends that in a "truer" interpretation the πνεῦμα is the third person of the Trinity; thus, not merely air or a wind.<sup>10</sup>

What does Basil mean by "what is truer"? Is he negating the first explanation of πνεῦμα as "wind" or one of the elements and insisting that the only valid interpretation is that of the Holy Spirit? Or, is he arguing that while "air" is the basic level of interpretation, a higher, "truer" level of interpretation understands πνεῦμα as the Holy Spirit?<sup>11</sup>

Two other occurrences of ἀληθέστερον in Basil's corpus offer parallels to his use of this construction in *Hex.* 2.6. In *Ep.* 28.3 Basil asks his reader to view his letter as "a token either [εἴτε ὥς] of neighbourly sympathy, or [εἴτε ὥς] of the fellowship of men of like faith, or [εἴτε καί], more truly [ὅπερ ἀληθέστερόν ἐστι], of the fellowship of men who obey the law of love and shun the peril of silence."<sup>12</sup> Here, Basil does not negate the first two expressions of friendship, but, through the use of ἀληθέστερον, he emphasizes the "truest" as the best principle. The other occurrence is in *De Spiritu Sancto* 8.17. Here, Basil offers a rhetorical question: "Is therefore the confession of grace which is being worked out by him [Christ] on our behalf a detriment from his glory?"<sup>13</sup> This is followed by another question including ἀληθέστερον: "Or is it truer to say [ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀληθέστερον] that the number of his benefits is the fitting

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. Εἴτε ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀληθέστερόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐγκριθέν, Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, τὸ ἅγιον εἰρηται ... Καὶ ταύτην προς δεξάμενος τὴν διάνοιαν, μείζονα τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὠφέλειαν εὐρήσεις.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Basil, *Ep.* 28.3. Greek text and English translation from Roy J. Deferrai, ed. and trans., *Saint Basil, the Letters*, vol. 1 (LCL 190; London: William Heinemann, 1926), 168-169.

<sup>13</sup> Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* 8.17. Greek text from Benoit Pruche, ed., *Basil de Césarée, Traité du Saint-Esprit* (SC 29; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1947). Ἀρ' οὖν ἡ ὁμολογία τῆς ἐνεργουμένης παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς χάριτος, ὑφαίρεσις ἐστὶ τῆς δόξης ... English translation is my own.

subject of praise?"<sup>14</sup> In this example, the first rhetorical question is set aside in favor of the next "truer" question.

Of these two examples, the *Ep.* 28.3 passage is closer to the structure of *Hex.* 2.6. We see that by using this construction Basil can emphasize a second interpretation without totally dismissing an earlier one. It appears, therefore, that in *Hex.* 2.6 Basil could have, in his own mind, been keeping with his theme of literal interpretations; thereby allowing for the interpretation of πνεῦμα as the element "wind," while emphasizing the higher, "truer" (ἀληθέστερον) interpretation of Holy Spirit.

Basil's argument for this "truer" meaning hinges on the Semitic parallels of ἐπιφέρειτο.<sup>15</sup> Instead of letting Scripture interpret Scripture and comparing the uses of ἐπιφέρειτο throughout the Greek biblical corpus, Basil presents the explanation of a Syrian author. According to Basil's source, the Syriac word behind the translation of ἐπιφέρειτο refers to the "roosting" of a bird or her "giving a life-giving force" to her eggs. Thus, for Basil, this ἐπιφέρειτο in Genesis 1:2 refers to the Spirit's preparation of the nature of the waters to produce life.<sup>16</sup> This Syriac semantics is proof, for Basil, that the Holy Spirit was active in the creation.<sup>17</sup> He sees the action of the Holy Spirit as preparing the water for the production of living creatures.

Basil's anonymous source was correct. The Syriac *pa'el* participle ܦܥܠ is often used to describe a bird brooding, hovering, or moving back and forth over her young.<sup>18</sup> Modern scholars are also indebted to this Syriac root for the help it gives them in determining the meaning of the rare Hebrew participle ִפְּרָה.<sup>19</sup> The authors of the LXX chose to translate this rare word with ἐπιφέρειτο.

Jewish tradition bears witness to Basil's interpretation. Midrash *Genesis Rabbah*, for example, attacks the idea that the spirit's activity might be characterized as "blowing:" "For it is not written here, 'And the Spirit of God blew,' but 'hovered,' like a bird flying and flapping with its wings, its wings barely touching."<sup>20</sup> At a later date Rashi still reflects this

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. ... ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀληθέστερον ὅτι πρέπουσα δοξολογίας ὑπόθεσις ἢ τῶν εὐεργετημάτων διήγησις.

<sup>15</sup> See, again, the excellent discussion in Naldini, "Sull'interpretazione esamérale di Gen. 1,2," 449-450.

<sup>16</sup> Basil, *Hex.* 2.6. ... τουτέστι, πρὸς ζωογονίαν τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος φύσιν παρασκευάζοντος.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> J. Payne Smith, ed., *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1902), s.v. "ܦܥܠ."

<sup>19</sup> Francis Brown, ed., *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000), s.v. "פָּרָה."

<sup>20</sup> *Midrash Rabbah*, Vol. I *Genesis (Bereshith)*, trans. H. Freedman (London: Soncino Press, 1983), 18.

earlier tradition that the throne of God was hovering over the waters by the breath of God "as a dove over its nest."<sup>21</sup>

### *The Ambiguities*

Yet, the LXX translation of this Hebrew word posed a real challenge for the Greek reader with no access to Hebrew or Syriac explanations.<sup>22</sup> The middle voice of ἐπιφέρω often means "to bring with or upon oneself" or "to apply to one's own use."<sup>23</sup> The passive voice, on the other hand, can be interpreted as "to rush upon," "to be imputed to one," "to be borne onwards," "to come upon," "and to be applied."<sup>24</sup> It is this passive voice that in earlier Greek literature often narrates movement related to the ocean or waters. For example, Xenophon uses this form of the verb when describing the motion of the sea striking a ship (θάλαττα μεγάλη ἐπιφέρεται).<sup>25</sup> Herodotus uses the same term to describe the movement of a ship upon the water.<sup>26</sup> The only other appearance of ἐπιφέρετο in the LXX occurs in this sense; hence, the movement of Noah's ark upon the Flood waters in Genesis 7:18.

Some later Patristic authors, such as Theodoret in his *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, attempted to resolve the ambiguity of ἐπιφέρετο in Genesis 1:2b by comparing the wording here with similar expressions from the Psalter.<sup>27</sup> Such a comparison led Theodoret to argue that this πνεῦμα was not the divine Holy Spirit after all, but a wind. For Basil, therefore, following this practice of intertextuality, or letting Scripture interpret Scripture, to resolve the meaning of such an ambiguous word might actually work against his argument for the Spirit's divinity in this passage.<sup>28</sup> Basil wrote the *Hexaemeron* while he was already deeply engaged

<sup>21</sup> Rashi, *Pentateuch with Rashi's Commentary*, ed. and trans. by A. Blashki and L. Joseph (London: Shapiro, Vallentine & Co., 1929), 3.

<sup>22</sup> Stanislas Giet gives some sense of the difficulty the LXX translation poses even for modern scholars: "On hésite sur le sens à donner au mot: *epefereto*. Nous allons voir que la version Septante n'était pas plus satisfaisant pour saint Basil qu'elle ne l'est pour nos." Giet, *Homélies sur L'Hexaéméron*, 166 n. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Henry Liddell and Robert Scott, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon*, 17<sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon University Press, 1929), s.v. "ἐπιφέρω."

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.20. Greek text from Xenophon, *Anabasis*, vol. 3, trans. C. Brownson (LCL 90; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).

<sup>26</sup> Herodotus, *Historiae* 8.90.

<sup>27</sup> Natalio Fernández and Angel Saenz-Badillos, *Theodoret's Cyrensis Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (Madrid: Textos Y Estudios, 1979), 12.

<sup>28</sup> For a discussion of intertextuality in Patristic exegesis see Frances Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 119-137.

in his struggle against those who held the Holy Spirit to be a creature.<sup>29</sup> Had he interpreted Genesis 1:2 by means of the passive voice of this verb elsewhere in Scripture (for example in Genesis 7:18) there is a possibility Basil would have damaged his argument that the divine Holy Spirit was actively involved in work of Creation. Admittedly, the word ἐπιφέρετο taken in a passive voice could play into the hands of his adversaries, the Pneumatomachi.

Such ambiguity may have been problematic for earlier Patristic commentators as well. Although Origen does not elaborate on the identity of the "spirit" in his *Homiliae in Genesim*, in *Contra Celsum* he refutes a false conception about the Spirit's activity in Genesis 1:2.<sup>30</sup> Origen appears to be concerned that some would argue that "the phrase 'the Spirit of God was borne over the face of the waters'" suggests a type of arrival of "the Spirit of the supreme God" to the world, while being "foreign to it [ὡς ἐν ἄλλοτρίοις τοῖς τῆδε]." <sup>31</sup>

### *Marcion, Valentinian, and other "Heterodox" Communities*

Basil is not only fighting the Pneumatomachi in *Hex.* 2.6. As was stated earlier, Basil's *Hexaemeron* is replete with warnings to his flock against the extravagant allegorizations of fellow Christians as well as the excessive mythology of different heretical groups. Basil attacks the Marcionites, Valentinians and Manichaeans by name for their mythologization of the terms "darkness," "deep," and "waters."<sup>32</sup> In *Hex.* 2.4 Basil writes that "darkness upon the face of the deep" was used as a source for "myths and sources for more impious fabrications, since men pervert the words according to their own notions."<sup>33</sup> How might the ambiguities surrounding ἐπιφέρετο have led these other groups to different understandings role of the spirit in Genesis 1:2b?<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For a detailed discussion of Basil's pastoral concerns regarding the Pneumatomachi in the church of Tarsus in *Epistles* 113 and 114 and how these concerns may be demonstrated in the writing of the *Hexaemeron* see: Michael A. G. Haykin, "And who is the Spirit? Basil of Caesarea's letters to the church at Tarsus," *VC* 41 (1987): 377-385.

<sup>30</sup> Origen, *Cels.* 6.52. Greek text in Marcel Borret, ed., *Origène Contre Celse*, vol. 3 (SC 147; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969), 308. See particularly his footnote 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 308.

<sup>32</sup> Basil, *Hex.* 2.4. He also writes, "What fierce wolves, beginning with these insignificant words, have not preyed upon souls, scattering God's flock! Have not the Marcionites? And the Valentinians come from the same source? Has not the abominable heresy of the Manichaeans?" English translation of the *Hexaemeron* from Way, *Exegetic Homilies*, 26.

<sup>33</sup> Basil, *Hex.* 2.4.

<sup>34</sup> I decided to leave the Marcionites out of this study because so few primary materials are available for their exegesis of Genesis 1:2.

Manichaeism seems to have been a real threat when Basil wrote the *Hexaemeron* in 378 CE. Basil's own references to Manichaeism and Valentinianism suggest that these were threats he grappled with at a pastoral level. In *Ep.* 188, for example, Basil gives others practical advice about how to deal with these heresies around the year 347 CE.<sup>35</sup>

Motivated by similar pastoral concerns, Augustine's powerful invective against Manichaean interpretations of Genesis 1:2b provides a helpful parallel to Basil's work. According to Augustine, the Manichaeans believed that the Holy Spirit moved in the water and was contained in the water.<sup>36</sup> Augustine, of course, goes to some lengths to argue the opposite. He argues that it was an unchangeable divinity that moved over the waters.<sup>37</sup> Augustine thinks that the inadequacy of the Latin *superferebatur/ferebatur* (ἐπιφέρετο) leaves Genesis 1:2b open to this type of Manichaean misinterpretation. Augustine, therefore, prefers the term *fovere* ("to warm," or "nurture"). Like Basil, he also claims this exegesis from the influence of a Syrian exegete.<sup>38</sup>

Authentic Manichaean texts bear witness to Augustine's understanding of this Manichaean doctrine. In the *Kephalia* Mani relates the cosmic struggle to his disciples. Mani tells how the Living Spirit descended and created four earths of darkness and four of a mixture between dark and light.<sup>39</sup> In Manichaean cosmology the "function of the Living Spirit is that of the Demiurge, who creates the world."<sup>40</sup> The Manichean *Psalm-book* records that this Living Spirit, also called Brother to Man, is sent to initiate the process of redemption by freeing man from the Abyss of Darkness:

He came and helped his brother out of the abyss;  
He established this whole world (κόσμος) out of the mixture that

<sup>35</sup> Basil, *Ep.* 188.1.

<sup>36</sup> Augustine, *Gen. Man.*, I, 5, 8 (PL 34:176).

<sup>37</sup> Augustine, *Confes.*, XIII, 9, 10 (PL 32:848).

<sup>38</sup> See *Gen. Man.*, I, 18, 36 (PL 34:260). The source for Augustine's exegesis well might have been Basil. For more in-depth discussion of Augustine's exegesis of Genesis 1:2 see Stanislaus J. Grabowski, "Spiritus Dei in Gen. 1:2 According to St. Augustine," *CBQ* 10.1 (1948): 13-28. For more information on Augustine's response see John P. Maher, *Saint Augustine's Defense of the Hexaemeron against the Manicheans*, (Ph.D. diss., Pontifical Gregorian University, Philadelphia, 1946).

<sup>39</sup> *Kephalia* 47.118. H.J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalia*, 1 (Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin 1 Hälfte; Stuttgart, 1940). For more information on Augustine's response see Maher, *Defense of the Hexaemeron*.

<sup>40</sup> Manfred Heuser and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art* (NHS 46; Leiden: Brill, 1998); 37.

took place of the Light and Darkness.<sup>41</sup>

This Living Spirit frees the scattered Light particles from Darkness and, in the words of the *Kephalaia*, "imprisoned them in the heaven and earth."<sup>42</sup> The *Psalmbook* similarly witnesses, "He made it [the earth] a prison too for all the powers of Darkness."<sup>43</sup>

The Manichaeans seem to have inferred from the text that the spirit was "mingling itself" or "mixing" light and dark particles with matter. Although Basil had not been a Manichaean Hearer like Augustine, Basil must have known firsthand the difficulty of defending the ambiguous term ἐπιφέρετο against the complex cosmology of his Manichaean opponents. Both pastors, with their knowledge of Manichaean theologies, find the best defense of the Spirit's unchanging divinity in Genesis 1:2 to be an appeal to the Syriac root.

Another group Basil attacks in the *Hexaemeron* are the Valentinians.<sup>44</sup> It is impossible to know how much Basil had read of Valentinus or here-siologists like Irenaeus. Nevertheless, a few surviving Valentinian works provide hints as to their interpretation of Genesis 1:2b and, more precisely, ἐπιφέρετο.

One remarkable poem attributed to Valentinus survives in Hippolytus' *Haer.* 6.37.7. This poem, entitled "Theros," begins,

Πάντα κρεμάμενα πνεύματι βλέπω,  
πάντα δ' ὀχούμενα πνεύμαντι νοῶ  
σάρκα μὲν ἐκ ψυχῆς κρεμαμένην,  
ψυχὴν δ' ἀέρος ἐξεχομένην.<sup>45</sup>

Layton's translation provides the definitions "borne" or "being carried" for ὀχούμενα.<sup>46</sup> Hence the second line would read, "all things are borne along through spirit."<sup>47</sup> Markschies remarks, in his commentary on this

<sup>41</sup> English translation in C. R. C. Allberry, *A Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938), 10.22.

<sup>42</sup> *Kephalaia*, 51.28. ⲁϣⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̅ ⲡⲕⲁⲉ.

<sup>43</sup> Allberry, *Psalmbook*, 10.27.

<sup>44</sup> Basil, *Hex.* 2.4.

<sup>45</sup> For fuller text see Christoph Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus? Untersuchungen zur valentinianischen Gnosis mit einem Kommentar zu den Fragmenten Valentins* (Tübingen, 1992), 218-259. Also see Andrew McGowan, "Valentinus Poeta: Notes on *Theros*," *VC* 51.2 (1997): 158-178 (italics are my own).

<sup>46</sup> Bentley Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1987), 246-248.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*



poem, "Man mußte dann postulieren, daß 'ὀχεῖσθαι' hier die parallelen Begriffe 'ἐπιφέρεσθαι/φέρεσθαι' vertritt..."<sup>48</sup>

The poem seems to be rooted in Genesis 1.2b. It is hard to say what biblical version the author might have used. If the author was referencing the LXX or any of the other known Greek versions the substitution of ὀχέω for ἐπιφέρω is very intriguing. In the middle/passive ὀχέω covers the same semantic range as ἐπιφέρω: "to be borne," or "be carried," or "have oneself borne," and is similarly used of ships on water.<sup>49</sup> More intriguing is a possible implied double-entendre. Forms of ὀχέω sound similar to forms of ὀχεύω, a verb used in the sense of "to mount" or "copulate."<sup>50</sup> Hence, the generative aspect of the Spirit's work may also come to mind for those listening to this poem.

Other Gnostic materials, like the second-century *Apocryphon of John*, notably highlight the enigmas surrounding ἐπιφέρετο.<sup>51</sup> Despite the wide range of Greek loan words used in this Coptic translation, John finds it necessary to ask Christ to clarify this particular term: ΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΠΙΦΕΡΕ ("What is ἐπιφέρετο").<sup>52</sup> Christ's answer? First he answers that "It is not as Moses said, ΠΕCΝΑ ΔΕ Μῆ-ΠΕCΕΙ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΠΙΦΕΡΕ" ("This ἐπιφέρετο is 'moving back and forth'").<sup>53</sup> The Gnostic Christ's response clearly resembles part of the answer a mysterious Syrian exegete would give to Basil about two centuries later.

The treatise *On the Origin of the World* is thought to have been heavily influenced by Manichaeism and composed close to the early fourth-century in Alexandria.<sup>54</sup> In this text, Pistis Sophia invites Yaldabaoth to come forth when she sees him "moving about [ΕΨΚΙΜ] in the depth of the waters."<sup>55</sup> But, strangely enough, once Yaldabaoth comes forth the narrator defines the meaning of Genesis 1:2b for his audience: "His [...] was

<sup>48</sup> Marksches, *Valentinus Gnosticus?*, 243.

<sup>49</sup> Liddell/Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v. ὀχέω.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 1101, s.v. ὀχεύω.

<sup>51</sup> *Ap. John*, BG 45.6-10; II 13, 19-21. Coptic text taken from M. Waldstein and F. Wisse (eds.), *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II,1; III,1; and IV,1 with BG 8502,2* (NHS and Manichaean Studies 33; Leiden: Brill, 1995). I am indebted in my understanding of this passage to the time I spent reading the *Apocryphon of John* with Janet Timbie at the Catholic University of America.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> See editorial notes in H.G. Bethge, "On the Origin of the World," in *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7 together with XIII,2*. Vol. 2, *On the Origin of the World, Expository Treatise on the Soul, Book of Thomas the Contender*, ed. B. Layton (NHS 21; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 12-13.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, *Orig. World.*, 100.8. ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΔΕ ΤCΟΦΙΑ ΝΤΑΡΕCΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΨ ΖΜ ΠΨΙΚ ΝΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΨΚΙΜ. Translation by H. G. Bethge and B. Layton in James Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988).

completed by the verbal expression [ΠΩΛΧΕ]: appeared as a spirit moving to and fro [ΕΦΝΝΑ ΕΦΝΝΗΥ] upon the waters.”<sup>56</sup> This same terminology is used at a later point in the narrative. *Yaldabaoth*’s father was the “darkness” and his mother was the “abyss,” “his sister, the thought of the prime-parent, which moved to and fro [ΠΕΤΝΝΑ ΕΤΝΝΗΥ ΖΙΧΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ] upon the waters.”<sup>57</sup> The waters themselves are said to have a vivifying and purifying effect because “it has been said: ‘through the waters.’”<sup>58</sup>

Another fourth-century Gnostic text *The Concept of Our Great Power* is thought to date to mid-fourth century in Palestine. This work contains several unveiled references to the Anomoeans (ΑΝΩΜΟΙΟΝ) as evil heretics (ΜΝΤΖΕΡΕCIC ΕΥΖΟΟΥ).<sup>59</sup> The Coptic structure of the Genesis 1:2b narrative is a little uncertain. What is certain, however, is that the Spirit is portrayed as a vivifying force which was given on behalf of mankind. Only when the spirits and the waters move (ΚΙΜ) does the whole physical creation come into being.<sup>60</sup>

These early Gnostic texts flesh out some of the mythological readings against which Basil fought. But these texts also give away a little bit of evidence that these authors may have been attempting to define and expand on the meaning of the verb ἐπιφέρετο in Genesis 1:2b. Note that this verb is translated in Coptic as both ΕΦΚΙΜ and ΕΦΝΝΑ ΕΦΝΝΗΥ. It cannot yet be ascertained whether these Gnostic authors were referring to established biblical traditions or they were translating the LXX’s ἐπιφέρετο themselves.

### *The Laity*

In general, ἐπιφέρετο in the middle/passive occurs so infrequently in technical Patristic theological discourse that Lampe did not choose to honor the verb “ἐπιφέρω” with an entry in his lexicon.<sup>61</sup> Papyrus fragments, however, show that this word was used extensively in documen-

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 100.32-101.1. ΠΕCΜΕ[ . . . . . ΔC ] ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΩΛΧΕ ΔC ΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΠΝΔ ΕΦΝΝΑ ΕΦΝΝΗΥ ΖΙΧΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ. Translation by H. G. Bethge and B. Layton.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 104.13.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 108.48. ΖΗΝΟΥΕΥΛΟΓΟΝ ΘΕ ΔΥΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΖΙΤΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΠΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΕΠΕΙ CΤΗΖΟ ΜΠΤΗΡC CΤΟΥΒΟ ΜΜΟC. English translation by H. G. Bethge and B. Layton.

<sup>59</sup> F. Wisse and F. E. Williams, “The Concept of Our Great Power: VI, 4:36, 1-48, 15.” In *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, ed. D. M. Parrott (NHS 11; Leiden: Brill, 1979), 40.1-9.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 298-299, 37.34. ΕΔΥΚΙΜ ΝCΙ ΜΠΝΔ ΜΝ ΜΜΟΥΕΙΟΟΥΕ.

<sup>61</sup> G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

tary papyri.<sup>62</sup> The middle/passive form of ἐπιφέρω appears repetitively in standard witness formulae. Two variations of this formula read:

1. Ἡ δὲ συγγραφὴ ἦδε κυρία ἔστω πανταχοῦ οὐ ἂν ἐπιφέρηται.
2. Κυρία ἡ χεῖρ πανταχὴ ἐπιφερομένη καὶ παντὶ τῷ ἐπιφέροντι.<sup>63</sup>

Lists of names then follow these statements. The sense here might be: "... let it be everywhere brought forth/delivered."

Some early Christian writers appear cognizant of this use. Origen, for example, in his *Commentary on the Gospel of John* often includes the phrase ἐπιφέρετο τῷ after "God said (ἔλεγεν)" but before the actual biblical quotation.<sup>64</sup> Joseph Trigg translates this phrase in Origen as "he [God] added."<sup>65</sup>

Remarkable evidence from documentary papyri show almost identical phrases used in mid-fourth century non-literary texts from Egyptian nomes such as Arsinoë, Philadelphia, Herakleopolis, and Oxyrhynchus. The Oxyrhynchus papyri themselves evidence hundreds of examples of variations on these formulae throughout the first to fourth centuries.<sup>66</sup> Slight modifications of this formula can be found as far East as Dura in 121-133 CE.<sup>67</sup> This pattern, however, is common chronologically as well as geographically. For example, two papyri from Philadelphia one dated to 22 CE (PAthen. 14.35) and one from 313 CE (BGU II 409.11) use roughly the same formula mentioned earlier.<sup>68</sup>

Considering the commonality of such formulas, most of Basil's listeners during the Lent of 378 CE may well have been familiar with this widely attested use of ἐπιφέρω in the middle/passive. Obviously, this

<sup>62</sup> For example, see the extensive list of manuscripts in *Spoglio Lessicale Papirologico*, vol. 2 (Milan: Istituto di Papirologia dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1968), "ἐπιφέρετο," 585; note the wide variety of sources in Friedrich Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin: Selbstverlag der Erben, 1925), "ἐπιφέρετο," 585; and Emil Kießling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1969), "ἐπιφέρετο," 105-106. The Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDBDP) lists over 300 individual entries for the middle/passive use of ἐπιφέρετο. [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cache/perscoll\\_DDBDP.html](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cache/perscoll_DDBDP.html).

<sup>63</sup> MSS 10252 and 10222 respectively in Emil Kießling, *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971).

<sup>64</sup> Origen, *Comm. Jo.*, 1.39, 285.2; 20.13, 99.1; 20.17, 150.1; 32.15, 173.2.

<sup>65</sup> Joseph Trigg, *Origen* (London: Routledge Press, 1998), 148.

<sup>66</sup> P.Oxy. II-XLIX. Epigraphic abbreviations taken from G. H. R. Horsley and John A. L. Lee, "A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphic Volumes" in *Epigraphica: Periodico Internazionale di Epigrafia* 56 (1994): 129-169.

<sup>67</sup> P.Dura V. 20, 17; 21.6; 22.10.

<sup>68</sup> PAthen. 14.35; BGU II 409.11.

sense of "being delivered" or "carried abroad" also fails to capture the high Pneumatology for which Basil strove.

### *The Diodorian/Theodorian Tradition*

Basil's mysterious Syrian was likely Eusebius of Emesa, a slightly earlier biblical commentator who wrote in Greek, but who knew Syriac.<sup>69</sup> As Sebastian Brock has recently pointed out, the Syriac tradition itself was divided on whether to interpret the ܐܘܪܝܐ in Genesis 1:2 as "wind" or the "Holy Spirit."<sup>70</sup> In part, this split was over whether it was blasphemous to attribute the LXX's ἐπιφέρετο to the Holy Spirit. Eusebius of Emesa had already noted in the fourth century that "the (expression) was moving is not translated in a true manner."<sup>71</sup> As a native Syriac-speaker, Eusebius thought that the limited capacity of ἐπιφέρετο to translate the broader semantics of Syriac ܐܘܪܝܐ posed a danger to the correct interpretation of Genesis 1:2b. Following in Eusebius' footsteps, Diodore, Basil's friend and contemporary, and, to a certain degree, Theodore also show an awareness of these ambiguities.<sup>72</sup> Theodore of Mopsuestia, who would later be the chief exegetical authority for the East Syriac community, apparently argued that ἐπιφέρετο could in no way be used of the person of the Holy Spirit; it was, he said, blasphemous to take it as such. Theodore assumed that ἐπιφέρετο implied a "mingling" of the Holy Spirit with the primordial darkness.<sup>73</sup>

As a result, although later East Syrian sources such as Išo'dad of Merv were aware of Basil's reading and the validity of the "roosting" translation from the Syriac, for exegetes of the Diodorian/Theodorian tradition preference was given to the Syriac translation of ἐπιφέρετο, ܐܘܪܝܐ ܕܥܡܐ.<sup>74</sup> Išo'dad reasons that the verb ἐπιφέρετο only makes sense if its

<sup>69</sup> See Naldini, "Sull'interpretazione esamereale di Gen. 1,2," 447-448.

<sup>70</sup> Sebastian Brock, "The Ruah Elōhim of Gen 1,2 and its Reception History in the Syriac Tradition," *Fire from Heaven. Studies in Syriac Theology and Liturgy* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), ch. xiv.

<sup>71</sup> So reads an Armenian excerpt from his Commentary on Genesis. For extant text and translation see Haar Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac biblical texts in Eusebius of Emesa's commentary on Genesis*, (Louvain: Aedibus Peeters, 1997), 177-178. Eusebius lived early fourth century. Many commentators think he is Basil's source. Eusebius heavily influenced Diodore and several other Antiochene authors.

<sup>72</sup> J. Deconink, *Essai sur la chaîne de l'Octateuque avec une édition des commentaires de Diodore de Tarse qui s'y trouvent contenus* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 195; Paris, 1912), 92-93. Fernández, *Theodoreti*, 12.

<sup>73</sup> See comments in Brock, "Ruah Elōhim," 333.

<sup>74</sup> J. M. Vosté and C. Van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament* (CSCO 126; Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1950), 17.1-2 and 16.28.

subject was something “inanimate” (ܐܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܐ) and “without sense” (ܐܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ) that was “carried along.”<sup>75</sup> Thus the Post-Chalcedonian East Syrian tradition bolstered the argument against the divinity of the πνεῦμα in Genesis 1:2b by translating ἐπιφέρετο as the passive participle ܐܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܐ (“to be brought, carried”) and less emphasis was placed on the earlier Syriac translation from the Hebrew ܐܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܐ (“hover,” “cherish”).<sup>76</sup> In effect, this later tradition reversed Basil’s argumentation through appeal to the LXX’s ἐπιφέρετο.<sup>77</sup>

### Conclusions

There can be little doubt that, given a wide range of available meanings, the LXX translation ἐπιφέρετο in Genesis 1:2 posed real problems for Basil’s argument in *Hex.* 2.6. The semantics and translation of this word among his near contemporaries shows a considerable ambiguity over the proper definition of this term. Internal examination of early Manichaean and Gnostic texts hints at possible ways these groups used ἐπιφέρετο to develop their variant theologies. Greek documentary papyri from across the Near East show that Basil’s average hearer would have immediately understood ἐπιφέρετο in a slightly different nuance than the one Basil was promoting. In addition, by the early fourth century the bilingual exegete Eusebius of Emesa had begun to explore the use of the Syriac Peshitta’s ܐܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܐ as an option to elucidate the LXX’s ἐπιφέρετο. It makes sense that Basil, always sensitive to the needs and level of his audience, would choose to rely on the translation of his Syrian exegete and avoid the ambiguities of the LXX translation.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 17.7.

<sup>76</sup> Taeke Jansma, “And the Spirit of God Moved Upon the Face of the Waters,” VT 20.1 (1970): 16-24.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 22.

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## SUMMARY

Basil's appeal to a mysterious Syrian source in *Hexaemeron* 2.6 has rightfully attracted the attention of many earlier scholars. Little attention, however, has been given to the possible reasons why Basil chose to explain the meaning of the Semitic *Vorlage* instead of elucidating the LXX's ἐπιφέρετο in Genesis 1:2. This paper will show that there existed considerable ambiguity over the proper definition of this LXX reading among Basil's near contemporaries. As a sensitive pastor, Basil may have been aware of the ambiguities surrounding the use of ἐπιφέρετο in Genesis 1:2, causing him to turn to the interpretation of a Syrian exegete.

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## Psalis of the Myron<sup>1</sup>

The manuscript *Cairo Patriarchal Library Liturgy 106*<sup>2</sup> on the preparation of the Myron<sup>3</sup> in the year 1374 during the patriarchate of Gabriel IV, did not mention any psali for this Myron. The same is true of the manuscripts *Vatican Coptic 44*<sup>4</sup> and *Paris Arabic 100*.<sup>5</sup> Although O.H.E. Burmester referred to the manuscript *Old Cairo Coptic Museum Lit. 253*,<sup>6</sup> he did not include the psalis in his monumental book about the liturgy of the Coptic Church.<sup>7</sup> In this article we will give the text in Coptic and Arabic and offer some commentary.

### *Description of the Manuscript*

The catalogue of Simaika<sup>8</sup> provides a short description of the manuscript while the catalogue of Graf provides more details; we consider it useful to cite the full description of Graf:

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<sup>1</sup> The author of this text would like to express his gratitude to Father Philippe Luisier S.J. for his suggestions and corrections to make the text clearer. I am also grateful for the kind help of Father Ugo Zanetti and my friend Gamal Hermina.

<sup>2</sup> Youhanna Nessim Youssef, "Consecration of the Myron at Saint Macarius Monastery (MS *Liturgy 106*)," *Coptica* 2 (2003) 106-121; Id., "Les textes en dialecte sahidique: du MS *Liturgy 106*, Bibliothèque Patriarcale-au Caire (La coction du myron)," *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 37 (1998) 121-134. I am preparing the edition of this manuscript with Ugo Zanetti.

<sup>3</sup> For this ceremony cf. H. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'N Natrân*, part II: *The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egypt Expedition, New York 1932) 374-377.

<sup>4</sup> A. Van Lantschoot, "Le Ms Vatican Copte 44 et le livre du chrême (ms Paris Arabe 100)," *Mus* 45 (1932) 181-234.

<sup>5</sup> L. Villecourt, "Le livre du chrême (ms arabe 100)," *Mus* 41 (1928) 49-80.

<sup>6</sup> O. H. E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church, A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments* (Cairo 1967) 220-236.

<sup>7</sup> This book despite its age remains one of the most valuable sources for studying the Coptic liturgy.

<sup>8</sup> M. Simaika and Yassa 'Abd al-Masih, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*, Vol. 1 (Cairo 1939) 71-72, No 142: "Pontifical: (1) Ordination

684 (liturg. 253) 149 feuillets d'après la numération ancienne et récemment répétée suivant le sens des livres européens. 25 × 17.20 × 14 cm; 30 lignes dans le texte copte et 26 lignes dans le texte arabe, sur deux colonnes. Les ff. 96-97 sont numérotés comme un seul. Papier taché en partie. ff. 5v, 120v-121r blancs. Les ff. 1 et 2 ont été ajoutés récemment; un feuillet pris d'un ancien manuscrit et orné d'une croix copte formée d'entrelacs collé au verso du f. 2. Écriture régulière, complètement vocalisée. Reliure en carton, dos en cuir rouge. Écrit sur la demande de Yuhanna, ministre de l'église de la Sainte-Vierge Mart-Maryam d'al-Mu'allaha, au mois de Baramhat 1080 M. (mars 1364 Ch., f. 149v).

Rituel du rite copte en langues copte et arabe:

....

23. Psalie qui doit être chantée après la prière de l'Aurore, quand le patriarche monte à la chambre haute pour faire le chrême, f. 107v.

24. Psalie qui est chantée à la procession du chrême sacré f. 107v sq.

25. Psalie qui est chantée pendant la consécration du chrême ff. 108r-110r.

We would like to add to this description a translation of the Colophon on fol. 149

بسم الله

اهتم بهذا الكتاب المقدس المتضمن التكايز وعمل الميرون المقدس وما يتلو ذلك الرجل [ ]  
 القديس قدام الله السائر في جميع وصايا الرب بغير عيب الاب الصالح الممتلي من نعمة الروح  
 القدس القسيس يوحنا خادم كنيسة الست السيدة العذرى الطاهرة البتول القديسة مرقريم  
 بكنيسة المعلقة الرب يحفظ حياته سنين كثيرة وازمنة سالمة ويخضع اعداه جميعهم تحت  
 قدميه بصلاة الثاوتوكوس وجميع الملائكة العلوية ومن ارضى الرب ويرضيه من كافة الجبلية  
 الادمية أمين

ذلك في تاريخ شهر برمهاث سنة الف وثمانين للشهدا الابرار رزقنا الله بركاتهم 1080

برسم خزانة العذري برسم وقف على كنيسة الست السيدة بالمعلقة

Services for the Orders of Reader to Patriarch; (2) The Consecration of Fonts; (3) The Consecration of the Altar Vessels; (4) Prayers for a ΨΑΛΜΟΔΟΧ "Singer"; (5) For an Anchorite; (6) For the Bodies of the Saints; (7) The Consecrations of the Myron (Chrism) and the Kallieliaion (Holy Oil); (8) The Mystagogia Copto-Arabic; (9) Preparation of the Myron by Anbā Theodosius and Anbā Yū'annis the 79th and 80th Patriarchs, Arabic; (10) The Consecration of a Restored Church; (11) Other Prayers for the Consecration of the Vessels of the Church, Copto-Arabic, Injunctions to the Parents of Deacons in Arabic at the beginning in a different hand. Index in a recent hand. 149 folios, 29-30 lines, 26 × 18 cm. At the beginning cross and frontispiece in colours. In various places there are arabesques. Rubrics in Coptic and Arabic. Coptic in red and Arabic in black. Regular hand and good paper. Dated on last folio (v) Baramhāt AM 1080 corresponding to A.D. 1364. For the priest (the original name is erased) Yūhannā, minister of the Church of the Virgin (the original name erased and replaced by al-Mu'allahaqah)."

## Translation

In the name of God.

That the one who took care of this holy book that includes the consecrations and the preparation of the holy Myron and what follows that: the [ ] holy man, before God, who walked in all commandments of the Lord without blame, the good father, full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, Yuhanna the priest, minister of the Church Lady Madonna the pure Virgin the chaste saint Mart-Mary in the Church of al-Mu'allaqah — may the Lord preserve his life for many years and unto peaceful ages, and may He subdue his enemies under his feet. Through the prayers of the Theotokos and all the heavenly angels, and whoever from the Adamic nature has pleased the Lord and will please Him. Amen.

On the date of the month of Barmhat in the year one thousand and eighty of the pure martyrs, may God grant their blessings!

For the bookcase of the Virgin and endowment on the church of Lady Madonna at al-Mu'allaqah.

## Commentary

The colophon of this manuscript is inspired by the canon of the Patriarch as is apparent from the following table, where only the words concerning the patriarchal throne and the titles of the patriarchs are omitted.

The canon to the Patriarch<sup>9</sup>

ⲡⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲉⲁⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲱⲛⲃ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲁⲛⲟ  
ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧ ... ⲫⲧ  
ⲛ̀ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉϥⲉⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲓⲭⲉⲛⲡⲉϥⲟⲣⲛⲟⲥ  
ⲛ̀ⲁⲛⲙⲙⲱ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩ  
ⲛ̀ⲁⲓⲣⲏⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲟⲉⲃⲓⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲭⲁⲭⲓ  
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲉϥⲧⲏ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁⲩⲭ  
ⲛ̀ⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ.

May the Lord preserve the life and the rising of our honoured father ... May the God of heaven confirm him on his *throne* for many years and *peaceful* times. May He subdue all his enemies under his feet speedily.

## Colophon

الرب يحفظ حياته سنين كثيرة وازمنة سالمة  
ويخضع اعداه جميعهم تحت قدميه

May the Lord preserve his life for many years and peace for ages, and may He subdue his enemies under his feet.

<sup>9</sup> O. H. E. Burmester, "The liturgy *coram patriarcha aut episcopo* in the Coptic Church," *Mus* 49 (1936) 79-84.

The manuscript was copied during the patriarchate of John X (AD 1363-1369), who is not mentioned in the colophon.<sup>10</sup> From the manuscript *Patriarchal Library Lit. 106*, we know that this patriarch intended to prepare the Myron but was unable to do it. Despite the fact that John X occupies only three lines in the *History of the Patriarchs*, his patriarchate was not at all peaceful. In fact Philippe de Mézières, the French chancellor of the kingdom of Cyprus, founded a new military order called "The Order of the Passion of Jesus Christ." This was under the leadership of King Peter I of Cyprus, who led a multinational army against the city of Alexandria in 1365. They were incapable of penetrating Egyptian territory beyond the city, where the havoc, destruction, and pillage they wrought was extensive. The city had a strong Coptic community, that suffered equally with the Muslim inhabitants at the hands of these invaders. Muslims and Copts were massacred, mosques and churches were sacked and burned. Sources mention the story of a crippled old Coptic woman who saved some of the treasured relics of her church by ceding all her possessions to the marauding Crusaders, thereby deflecting their ravages from her Coptic church. The ships of the retreating pillagers were so heavily laden with prisoners and booty that the sailors had to throw much back into the sea, and for a long time after 1365 Egyptian divers worked hard to salvage what they could. This expedition and the Cypriot attack of Alexandria provided an eloquent demonstration of the place of the Copts in the history of the Crusades.<sup>11</sup> It seems that this event prevented the patriarch from completing this project for cooking the Myron.

The priest Yuhanna mentioned in the colophon should be a colleague or the father of the priest Al-As'ad Faragallah, called Mark, who copied a Lectionary for the fifty days after Easter.<sup>12</sup>

The invocation of the saints is limited to the Virgin Mary — the main patron of the Church — and the angels. The other patron saints of the church — Saint John the Baptist; the archangel Michael; even saint Mark, patron saint of the Church of Egypt — are omitted.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Subhi Y. Labib, "John X," *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (= CE) 4, 1344.

<sup>11</sup> Aziz S. Atiya, "Crusades, Copts and the," CE 3, 663-665.

<sup>12</sup> Samiha Abd El-Shaheed Abd El-Nour, "Supplement of the Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum," *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 39 (2000) 181-200 especially 181-182, No (1015) 324.

<sup>13</sup> C. Coquin, *Les édifices chrétiens du Vieux-Caire*, Volume I, *Bibliographie et topographie historiques* (Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes 11, Le Caire 1974) 78.

*Psali Adam for the Myron (fol. 107v)*

ابصالي أدام يرتل به اخر صلاة باكر عندما ياتي البطرک للصعود الى العلية لطبيخ  
الميرون

Psali Adam to be sung after the prayer of the Matins, when the patriarch came up to the upper room for the preparation of the Myron

ΩΟΥ ΝΙΑΤΚ ΝΘΟΚ · ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ  
ΝΙΜ · ΠΙΝΙΩ† ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ·  
ΠΙΠΑΡΘ ΕΤΤΟΥΒΗΟΥΤ ·

طوباك انت يا ايينا انبا فلان العظيم في  
البطاركة البتول الطاهر

ΕΘΒΕ ΧΕ ΑΠΧ̄ · ΑΨΑΙΚ  
ΝΕΜΠΩΑ · ΜΠΑΙΝΙΩ† ΝΖΜΟΤ · ΝΕΜ  
ΤΑΙΕΥΧΑΡΙΤΙᾹ ·

من اجل ان المسيح اهلك لهذه النعمة  
العظيمة وهذه السعادة

ΕΤΕ ΠΙΘΩΖC ΕΘ̄ · ΝΤΕ ΠΙΜΥΡΟΝ  
· ΠΙΝΕΖ ΝΤΕ ΦΡΑΩΙ · ΠΘΩΖC ΝΤΕ  
ΠΘΕΛΗΛ ·

الذي هو دهن الميرون المقدس دهن الفرخ  
مسحة التهليل

ΧΕ ΕΝΕ ΕΝΑΚΩΠΙ · ΕΚΟΙ  
ΝΕΜΠΩΑ · ΟΥΤΕ ΝΙΡΩΜΙ · ΕΤΩΟΠ  
ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΙΚΑΖΙ

فانك لو لم تكن مستحقا لذلك من دون  
جميع الناس السكان على هذه الارض

ΜΠΕΨΤΕΝΖΟΥΤΚ ΕΒΟΛ · ΝΧΕ ΠΧ̄C  
ΠΕΝΝΟΥ† · ΕΠΑΙΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ · ΕΘΜΕΖ  
ΝΟΥΧΑΙ

لم يتمكن المسيح الهنا على هذا السر المملو  
خلاص

†ΝΟΥ ΟΝ ΠΕΝΝΗΒ · ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΕΘ̄  
· ΠΙCΩΠΠ ΝΤΕ Φ† · ΠΙΝΙΩ†  
ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ

الان يا سيدنا الاب القديس صفي الله  
البطريك العظيم

ΤΩΝΚ ΝΤΕΚΩΕΝΑΚ · ΕΨΩΑΙ  
ΕΨΩΒΑΖΜΙ · ΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΑΚCΟΤΠ† ·  
ΕΠΑΙΖΩΒ ΕΤCΜΑΡΩΟΥΤ

قم اصعد الى فوق العلية الموضوع الذي  
اخترته لهذا العمل المبارك

ΤΩΝΚ ΉΕΝ ΘΒΟΗΘΙᾹ · ΝΤΕ  
ΠΕΝCΩ† · ΝΘΟΚ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΚΩΦΗΡ ·  
ΝΙCΩΠΠ ΝΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC

انهض بمعونة مخلصنا انت ورفقك الاساقفة  
المختارون

ΧΕ ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΚΕΡΖΗΤC · ΟΥΟΖ  
ΝΤΕΚΦΟCΙ [sic!] · ΜΠΙΝΕΖ ΕΘ̄ ·  
ΠΙΜΥΡΟΝ ΕΤΤΟΥΒΗΟΥΤ

كي تبتدي وتهي طبيخ الميرون المقدس  
الدهن الطاهر

ΠΧ̄C ΠΕΝΝΟΥ† · ΕΨΕΕΡΩΦΗΡ ΝΑΚ  
· ΕΨΕ†ΤΟΤ† ΝΑΚ · ΕΨΕΕΡΒΟΗΘΙΝ  
ΕΡΟΚ

المسيح الهنا يشاركك ويساعدك ويعينك

ΩΑΝΤΕΚΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ · ΜΠΑΙΩΕΜΩΙ  
ΕΘ̄ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΜΕΤΑΤCΒΟΚ · ΝΕΜ  
ΟΥΜΕΤΑΤΑΡΙΚΙ

حتى تكمل هذه الخدمة المقدسة بلا عجز  
ولا ميل

ΤΕΝΟΥΩΩΤ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΧ̄C

نسجد لك ايها المسيح

Translation<sup>14</sup>

Blessed are you, O our father so and so, the great patriarch. N., the pure virgin,

For Christ made you worthy of this great grace and this thanksgiving,<sup>15</sup> which is the holy anointing of the Myron, the oil of happiness, the anointing of joy.

For if you were not worthy among all the men who are on earth,<sup>16</sup> Christ our God would not entrust to you this mystery full of salvation.

Now also, our master, our holy father, the chosen of God, the great patriarch, arise and ascend to the upper room, the place that you prepared for this blessed task.

Arise with the help of our Saviour, you and your companions the chosen bishops,

in order to start the cooking of the holy oil, the pure Myron.

Christ our God will be your companion; will support and will help you till you accomplish this holy service without smallness<sup>17</sup> or deviation.

We worship you, O *Christ*.

## Commentary

Note that this psali is sung to the Adam<sup>18</sup> tune used on Sundays, Mondays and Tuesdays, which implies that the patriarch will go up on these days, whereas this consecration takes place on Maundy Thursday.<sup>19</sup>

The psali contains only greetings to the patriarch in order that he start cooking the Myron, as well as some words of encouragement and a prayer that Christ help him in this task.

About the cell of Chrism, Evelyn White wrote:

The *Book of the Chrism* frequently mentions a cell in which the chrism was compounded and prepared before its removal to the church for consecration. It is described as "opposite the haikal of Benjamin, that is, to the west of that sanctuary. Moreover, it was situated high above the ground level, and was reached by a stairway, apparently narrow, as the following passages testifies:

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<sup>14</sup> The translation is based on the Coptic text. The Arabic text, where it differs, is relegated to the footnotes.

<sup>15</sup> Arabic "gladness."

<sup>16</sup> Arabic "all men dwelling on this earth."

<sup>17</sup> Arabic "incapacity."

<sup>18</sup> The name is taken from the first word of the first stanza of the Theotokia for Monday "Adam was yet sorrowful to hear." Cf. O. H. E. Burmester, *Koptische Handschriften 1. Die Handschriftenfragmente der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Teil 1.* (Wiesbaden 1975) 321.

<sup>19</sup> Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic church*, 219.

"The father patriarch ... prepared to go up to the place of the holy chrism ... he went up ... he continued to mount, while the bishops mounted one after another." Evidently, the cell stood upon an artificial platform, probably the same still existing in the northwest angle of the monastery, which is reached by stairway.<sup>20</sup>

Burmester wrote:

In the north-west angle, [there is a cell] which is now used for making candles. It appears, however, that this fine room was that in which the Chrism (Myron) was prepared in mediaeval times.<sup>21</sup>

Note that this cell should accommodate at least thirty persons:<sup>22</sup> the patriarch and bishops, in addition to the vessels containing the Myron and the ovens, whereas the cell actually identified as the Cell of the Chrism is in fact very small. In addition to this objection, "*narrow stairway*" would not make feasible a procession of those carrying the vessels and escorting the patriarch. Furthermore, the cell of the chrism was opposite the sanctuary of Benjamin, while this cell is opposite the sanctuary of John the Baptist or some other sanctuary. And the time for chanting these processional stanzas would have taken about two minutes, while the distance between the sanctuary of Benjamin and the actual "Cell of Chrism" would take much more time.

So it is logical to have some doubts about the identification of the place of the Cell of Chrism. Could it be possible that the location occupied now by the Church of the Forty-nine Elders would previously have been the place of this cell?

The concluding stanza before the conclusion evokes the "smallness or deviation" or in Arabic "incapacity," perhaps an allusion to the historical context of copying the manuscript.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> H. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wādī n'Natrūn*, Part III *The Architecture and Archaeology* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egypt Expedition, New York 1933) 47 and 124-125.

<sup>21</sup> For this room cf. O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wādī n'Natrūn* (Cairo 1954) 39.

<sup>22</sup> This figure is based on the number of bishops who attended this ceremony in the years 1305 and 1320: cf. H. Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église Copte* (Le Caire 1943) 37-39.

<sup>23</sup> See above.

*Psali for the Procession of the Myron (fol. 107v-108r)*

ابصالي ادام يطرح في دورة الميرون المقدس

Psali Adam to be sung in the procession of the holy Myron.

ΠΕΧΕ ΠΘ̄C ΜΜΩΥCHC · ΠΙΝΙΩ†  
 ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤHC · ΚΑΤΑ ΠCΑΧΙ  
 Ν†ΓΕΝΗCIC ΜΠΑΙΡΗ† ΕCΨΩ ΜΜOC

وخاطب الرب موسى عظيم الانبيا كقول  
 العتيقة هكذا قايلًا

ΧΕ ΘΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥCΟΧΕΝ · ΕCΨΩΤΠ  
 ΕΜΑΨΩ · ΕΒΟΛΗΕΝ ΠΙΨΑΛ · Φ̄  
 ΝCΥΚΛOC \*

خذ لك طيبا مختار كثير من المر خمسمائة  
 مثقال\*

ΟΥCHBI ΝCΘOI · Π̄N ΝCΥΚΛOC ·  
 ΝΕΜ ΟΥCIP ΕCΨΩΤΠ · Φ̄ ΝCΥΚΛOC

ومن قصب الذريرة مائة وخمسين مثقال  
 وقسط مختار خمس مائة مثقال

ΟΥCΤΑΚΤΗ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΚΑCΙΑ · ΝΕΜ  
 ΟΥΚΥΝΑΜΩΝΟΝ · ΟΥΟZ ΝΑΙCΥΚΛOC ·  
 ΕΒΟΛΗΕΜ ΠΕΘΟΥΑΒ

مiece وسليخة وعود وتكون هذه المثاقيل  
 بالقدسي

ΟΥΟZ ΟΥΨΙ ΝΝΕZ · ΞΕΝ ΦΝΕZ  
 ΝΝΙΧΩIT · ΕCΟΥΑΒ ΕCΤΟΥΒΗΟΥT ·  
 ΕCΨΩΤΠ ΕΜΑΨΩ

ومكيال من زيت الزيتون طاهر مقدسا  
 مكرما جدا

ΕΚΕΘΑΜΙΟΥ · ΝΟΥΝΕZ ΝΘΩZC ·  
 ΟΥΜΥΡΟΝ ΕCΤΑΙΗΟΥT · ΕCΘΙΩΟΥ ΞΕΝ  
 ΖΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ

وتصنعه دهنا ميرونا مكرما ممجدا في كل  
 شئ

ΕΚΕΘΩZC ΜΜΟΥ · ΝΑΑΡΩΝ ΠΕΚCΟΝ  
 · ΠΙΝΙΩ† ΝΟΥΗΒ · ΝΕΜ ΝΕCΨΗΡΙ

امسح به هرون أخيك الكاهن العظيم وبنية  
 معه

ΟΥΟZ †CΚΥΝΗ · ΝΤΕ †ΜΕΤΜΕΘΡΕ ·  
 ΝΕΜ ΠΙΜΑΝΕΡΨΩΟΥΨΙ · ΝΕΜ  
 ΝΟΥCΚΕΥOC ΤΗΡΟΥ

وقبة الشهادة والمذبح وكل اوانيتها

ΝΕΜ †ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ · ΝΕΜ †ΛΥΧΝΙΑ  
 ΝΝΟΥΒ · ΕΚΕΘΑZCΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ · ΞΕΝ  
 ΠΑΙΝΕZ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ

والمايدة والمنارة الذهب امسحهم كلهم بهذا  
 الدهن المقدس

ΟΥΟZ ΡΩΜΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ · ΕΨΑΨΙΡΙ ΝΑC  
 ΜΦΡΗ† ΜΠΑΙΝΕZ · ΙΕ ΕCΘΑZCΥ ΜΜΟΥ

وكل انسانا يصنع لنفسه مثل هذا الدهن او  
 يدهن منه

†ΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΥ · CΕΝΑCΟΤΟΤC  
 ΕΒΟΛ · ΧΕ ΟΥCΟΧΕΝ ΕCΨΩΤΠ ΝΝΙ<sup>24</sup>  
 · ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΙΒΕΝ

تهلك تلك النفس فإنه طيبا مختارا لي الى  
 كل الاجيال

ΖΙΤΕΝ ΝΙΕῩX

بصلوات

<sup>24</sup> It seems something is missing. [It should be written ΠΕ instead of ΝΝΙ.]



## Translation

The Lord said to Moses, the great prophet, according to the statement<sup>25</sup> of Genesis,<sup>26</sup> saying:

Take with you an extremely select ointment of myrrh worth five hundred shekels,<sup>27</sup>

and a bottle<sup>28</sup> of perfume<sup>29</sup>, worth one hundred and fifty<sup>30</sup> shekels, and a select jar worth five hundred shekels,

Stacte, cassia,<sup>31</sup> and cinnamon<sup>32</sup> and these shekels from the sanctuary<sup>33</sup>,

And a measure of oil of the olive trees, holy and pure and extremely select.

You shall make an oil of ointment, a Myron honoured<sup>34</sup> and glorified in every respect.

You shall anoint with it Aaron your brother, the high priest, and his children with him,

and the tabernacle of the testimony and the altar and all their vessels,

and the table and the golden lampstand: you shall anoint them all with this holy oil.

And whosoever<sup>35</sup> makes for himself such oil and anoints himself with it, that soul will be destroyed, for it is a select anointment for all generations.

Through the prayers...

## Commentary

This psali, like the previous one, is sung to the Adam tune. It is used during the procession of the holy Myron.<sup>36</sup> As is known, during the consecration of the Myron as done in the monastery of Saint Macarius, there are several processions: here are some examples from Ms *Liturgy 106*<sup>37</sup>:

<sup>25</sup> Literally, "word"; the Arabic renders this term by "saying"

<sup>26</sup> Arabic: "the Old" i.e. "the Old Testament."

<sup>27</sup> Arabic: "weight."

<sup>28</sup> Arabic: "from the *calamus aromaticus* [*qaṣab al-dārīrah*]."

<sup>29</sup> [For the Coptic, cf. Crum 320b! (= cane)]. In Arabic *qaṣab al-dārīrah* the calame; that is "Acore; Acorus aromaticus," a Latin scientific term. The Coptic Exodus has ΚΥΝΑΜΩ-  
MON.

<sup>30</sup> In the Scriptures, "Two hundred and fifty."

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Ps 44[45]:9.

<sup>32</sup> In Arabic 'Ud, i.e., calamus.

<sup>33</sup> Literally, of the Holy.

<sup>34</sup> The word Myron, the key word in this text, does not appear in the Scriptures.

<sup>35</sup> Literally, all men.

<sup>36</sup> For these processions cf. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, 223-224.

<sup>37</sup> However in the Ms *Liturgy 106*, other hymns are chanted according to the tradition of Upper Egypt.

- from the sanctuary of Saint Mark to the sanctuary of Benjamin by way of the colonnades;<sup>38</sup>
- from the sanctuary of Benjamin to the sanctuary of St Macarius,<sup>39</sup> and from the sanctuary of Benjamin to the sanctuary of St Mark;<sup>40</sup>
- from the sanctuary of St Mark to the sanctuary of Benjamin;<sup>41</sup>
- from the sanctuary of Benjamin to the sanctuary of St Macarius again.<sup>42</sup>

Whereas the previous psali does not contain any biblical text, this psali is a free rendition of Exodus 30:23-26, a lesson read during the consecration of the Myron. It highlights several ingredients of the Myron such as the myrrh, stacte, cassia and cinnamon.<sup>43</sup>

Comparison between the Old Testament and the practice of the Coptic Church is a recurrent theme in Coptic liturgy. For example, during the rite of crowning (marriage), the priest asks for the blessing of the bride and the bridegroom as God blessed Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, etc. In the rite of the consecration of a church, the bishop evokes Ex 19:10-11.

The final stanza is a bit ambiguous, as we do not know to whom the prayer is referring: the patriarch? Moses? Macarius?

*Psali for the Consecration of the Myron (fol. 108r-110r)*

ابصالي ادام يطرح في تكريز الميرون المقدس

Psali Adam to be sung for the consecration of the holy Myron

ω NIM ΠΕΘΝΑΩCΑΧΙ · ΕΠΩΟΥ  
NEM ΠΑΤΙΟ · ΜΠΙΘΩC ΕΘ · ΝΤΕ  
ΠΙΜΥΡΟΝ

ΦΗΕΤΑΥCΑΧΙ ΕΥΒΗΤΥ · ΝΤΕ<sup>44</sup>  
[sic] ΠΘC ΝΤΕ ΠΩΟΥ NEM  
ΜΩΥCΗC ΠΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΜΠΑΙΡΗ†  
ΕCΥΩ ΜΜΟC\* 113

من يقدر ينطق بمجد وكرامة هذا الدهن  
المقدس

الذي هو الميرون الذي نطق لاجله رب المجد مع  
موسى النبي وقال هكذا\*

<sup>38</sup> Fol. han47v.

<sup>39</sup> Fol. 50r.

<sup>40</sup> Fol. 52v.

<sup>41</sup> Fol. 53v.

<sup>42</sup> Fol. 56r.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, 222.

<sup>44</sup> Read ΝΧΕ

XE CI NAK N2ANCOXEN · NEM  
OYCΘOINOYCI E4CWTTP · OYΩAA  
NEM OYAAΛON · NEM  
2ANKYNOMONON

HEMHWMOY MAΘAMIOY ·  
NOYΘW2C E4OYAB · ΘW2C NTCKYNH  
NEM NICKEYOC THPOY

ΘW2C NΔAPWN · MPAIΘW2C  
EΘOYAB · EΘPE4OY2B NH1 ·  
E4QEMWI NTCKYNH

PAIPH† A4IP1 · NXE ΠIΠPOΦHTHC  
· NNHETACAXI MMWOY · NXE ΠOC  
Φ†

CAMOYHA ΠIΠPOΦHTHC ·  
A4ΘW2EM<sup>45</sup> NNIOYPOY · NEM  
NIKEΠPOΦHTHC · HEN ΠITAΠ NNE2  
A4ΘW2C NΔAΔ · NOYPO · NEM  
OYΠPOΦHTHC · HEM ΘMH†  
NNE4CNOY

A4XW MPTAIO · NOY[sic] PAIΘW2C  
EOY[sic] · HEN ΠIYAAITHPON ·  
MPAIPH† E4XW MMOC

XE OYCMHPNA NEM OYCTAKTH ·  
NEM OYKACIA · EBOLHEN NEK2BWC  
· AΩOYNO4 MMOI

COLOMON ΠICOPOC · ΠWHP NΔAΔ  
· A4CAXI EΘBE ΠWOY · MPAIΘW2C  
EΘ

XE OYCOXEN E4PHN · PE  
PEKPAN EΘ · OYO2 HEN MAI  
NIB[E]N NI [sic] NCOYCΘOINOYCI  
ETA4OYΩY NXE ΠOC · ECW†  
MΠIKOCMOC · EBOLHEN ΠTAKO ·  
EΘBE NOYANOMIA

A4OYWP NXE ΠOC ·  
MPE4AΓΓEΛOC · ΠINIW† ΓABPIHA ·  
ΠICWTP M4AIΩENNOYCI\*

خذ لك طيباً وبخور مختاراً ومر وصبر ومسك

اسحقهم وأصنعهم مسحة مقدسة ادهن به  
القبة وكل اوانها

وادهن بها هرون بهذة المسحة المطهرة ليصير  
لي كاهناً ويخدمني في القبة

هكذا اصنع النبي ككلام الرب الاله معه

صمويل النبي مسح الملوك والانبيا بقرن الدهن

ومسح داود ملكاً ونبياً في وسط اخوته

وتكلم بكرامة هذا الدهن في المزمور قايلًا هكذا

ان المر والميعة والسليخة من لباسك فرحا لي

سليمن الحكيم ابن داود تكلم بمجد هذا  
الدهن المقدس

طيب مسكوب هو اسمك القدوس ملا كل  
مكان افضل من البخور

لما اراد الرب خلاص العالم من الهلاك من اجل  
اثامهم

ارسل الله ملاكه العظيم غبريال المبشر المختار\*

<sup>45</sup> It seems that the scribe confuses ΘW2C "anoint" and ΘW2EM "summon, call." Perhaps the original has ΘW2C NNIOYPOY, the scribe confuses the CN with EM and, later adds another N?

[αϣι ϣα †πᾶρθ]<sup>46</sup> · αϣ21ϣΕΝΝΟΥ-  
 ϣι ναϣ · [Ἰππῆινμιϣι] ἵτε φ† ·  
 πΙΛΟΓΟϣ [φἡεταϣδῖϣα]ρ<sup>47</sup>  
 αϣι ΕΠΙΚΟϣΜΟϣ · ἥΕΝ ΟΥἸΝΙ  
 ἸΡΩΜΙ · αϣἶΡΙ Ἰ2ΑΝ2ΒΗΟΥΙ  
 ΕΤΤΟΜΙ[sic]<sup>48</sup> Εφ†  
 ΝΙΡΕϣΜΩΟΥΤ αϣΤΟΥΝΟϣΟΥ ·  
 ΝΙΚΑΚϣΕ2Τ αϣΤΟΥΒΩΟΥ · αϣΜΩΙ  
 ΕϣΕΝ ΝΙ2ΩΙΜΙ ἵτε ΝΙΜΩΟΥ ΕΤΩϣ  
 ΑΥΕΡφΘΟΝΙΝ ΕΡΟϣ · ἸϣΕ  
 ΝΙΑΡΧΗΕΡΕΥϣ · ΝΕΜ ΠΙΛΑΟϣ ΤΗΡϣ ·  
 ἵτε ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ  
 ΑΥΤΗΙϣ ΕΠΙΛΑΤΟϣ · ΕΘΡΕϣῶΤΕΒ  
 ἸΜΜΟϣ · ΑΥ†2ΑΠ ΕΡΟϣ · ἸΠΙ2ΑΠ  
 ἵτε φΜΟΥ  
 ΑΥΕΡϣΤΑΥΡΩΝΙΝ ΕΡΟϣ · ἸϣΕ  
 ΝΙΠΟΥΔΑΙ · ΑΥϣΩΚ ΕΒΟΛΕϣΩϣ ἸϣΕ  
 ΠϣΑϣΙ ἸΝΙΠΡΟφΗΤΗϣ  
 ΙΩϣΗφ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟϣ · ΑΥϣΙ  
 ἸΠΕϣϣΩΜΑ · ΑΥΚΟΥΛΑΛϣ  
 Ἰ[sic]ϣΕΝΤΩ · ἸΟΥΚΑΙϣΙ ΕϣΟΥΑΒ  
 ΑΥϣΕΠ 2ΑΝϣΘΟΙΝΟΥϣΙ · ΝΕΜ  
 ΟΥΑΛΛΟ ἸΡ ἸΛΥΤΡΑ ἸϣΘΟΙ · ΝΕΜ  
 ΟΥΜΙΓΜΑ ΕϣϣΩΤΠ  
 ΝΙ2ΙΟΜΙ ΑΥΝΑΥ · ΕΦΜΑ ΕΤΑΥΧΑϣ  
 · ΑΥϣΕΒΤΕ 2ΑΝϣΘΟΙΝΟΥϣΙ · ΕΘΡΟΥ-  
 ΘΩ2ϣ ἸΠΕϣϣΩΜΑ  
 ἸϣΩΠΡ ΕΜΑϣΩ · αϣΤΩΝϣ ἸϣΕ  
 Πᾶϣ · ΕΒΟΛῆΕΝ ΝΗΕΘΜΩΟΥΤ ·  
 ἸΦΡΗ† ἸΦΗΕΤΕΝΚΟΤ  
 ΑϣΟΥΩΝϣ ΕΒΟΛ · ΕΝΕϣΜΑΘΗΤΗϣ ·  
 Αϣ2ΟΝ2ΕΝ ΕΤΟΤΟΥ · ΕΟ2Ι ἸΙΛἸΗΜ  
 ΜΕΝΕΝϣΑ ΕΤΑϣϣΕΝΑϣ · ΕΠϣΩΙ  
 ΕΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ · ΑϣΟΥΩΠ ἸΠΙΠΑΡΑ-  
 ΚΛΗΤΟΝ · Ε2ΡΗΙ ΕϣΩΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ἸΦΡΗ† Ἰ2ΑΝΑΑϣ · ἸΧΡΩΜ ΕΤ\*  
 φΩϣ · ΑΥϣΑϣΙ ἥΕΝ 2ΑΝΑϣΠΙ ·  
 ἸΛΑϣ ἵτε ΝΙΕΘΝΟϣ

اتا الى العدرى وبشرها بولادة الله الكلمة  
 متجسدا

اتا الى العالم شبه انسان وصنع اعمالا تليق  
 بلاهوته

الاموات اقامهم البرص طهرهم ومشى على  
 الامواج والمياة الكثيرة

فحسده روسا الكهنة وجميع شعب اليهود

وأسلموه الى بلاطس ليقتله ويحكم عليه حكم  
 الموت

وصلبته اليهود واكملوا عليه كلام الانبيا

يوسف ونيقوديمس اخذوا الجسد ولفوه وكفنوه  
 بلفايف نقيه

فأقبلوا بطيب ومر وصبر مختار مائة رطل

النسوة نظروا المكان الذي وضعوه فاعدوا  
 الطيب ومسحوا جسده

باكر جداً قام الرب من بين الاموات مثل النائم

وظهر لتلاميذه واوصاهم بمضوا الى قرية  
 يروشلیم  
 ومن بعد صعوده الى السموات ارسل البارقليط  
 عليهم كلهم

مثل السنة\* [منقسمة وتكلموا] بلغات [الامم]<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Reconstruction based on the Arabic translation.

<sup>47</sup> Reconstruction based on the Arabic translation.

<sup>48</sup> Read ΕΥΤΟΜΙ.

<sup>49</sup> Reconstruction based on the Coptic original.

ΑΥΣΙ ΝΖΑΝCΟΧΕΝ · ΕΤΑΥΚΩC  
 ΜΠΙCΩΜΑ · ΝΤΕ ΠΕΝΟC ΙΗC ·  
 ΑΥΘΟΤΥ ΉΕΝ ΠΙΝΕΖ  
 ΑΥΘΩΟΥΤ ΑΥΤΩΒΖ · ΝΘΩΟΥ ΝΕΜ  
 ΝΟΥΕΡΦΟΥ · ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΙΘΩΤ ·  
 ΕΤΕΨΙΡΙ[sic]<sup>50</sup> ΜΜΩΟΥ  
 Α ΦΟΥΑΙ ΦΟΥΑΙ ΜΜΩΟΥ · CΙ  
 ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΜΕΡΟC · ΕΘΡΕΨΩΖC ΜΜΟΥ  
 · ΝΝΖΕΘΝΑΖΤ ΕΠΟC  
 ΑΥΨΕΝΝΩΟΥ ΑΥΖΙΩΙΩ · ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΠCΑΧΙ ΜΠΟC · ΑΥΤΑCΘΟ ΝΗΙΕΘΝΟC  
 · ΕΠCΟΥΕΝ ΤΜΕΘΜΗ  
 ΝΗΕΘΝΑΖΤ ΑΥCΙΩΜC · ΕΦΡΑΝ  
 ΜΠΧC · ΑΥΘΑΖCΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ·  
 ΜΠΑΙΘΩΖC ΕΘΟΥΑΒ  
 ΠΑΙΡΗΤ ΑΨΙΡΙ · ΝΧΕ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΕΘ  
 · ΠΙΝΙΩΤ ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC · ΠΕΝΙΩΤ  
 ΑΒΒΑ ΝΙΜ  
 ΑΨΙ ΝΖΑΝCΟΧΕΝ · ΝΕΜ ΟΥΑΛΛΟΗ  
 · ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΜΗΨ ΝCΘΟΙΝΟΥΨΙ · ΉΕΝ  
 ΖΑΝΜΗΨ ΝΝΟΥΒ  
 ΑΨΟΥΗΤ ΝΕΝΙΟΥΤ · ΝΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ·  
 ΕΒΟΛΉΕΝ ΜΑΙΝΙΒΕΝ · ΝΤΕ  
 ΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ  
 ΑΥΘΩΟΥΤ ΖΙ ΟΥΜΑ · ΝΧΕ ΝΙΕΠΙ-  
 CΚΟΠΟC · ΑΨΙΡΙ ΜΦΡΗΤ · ΜΠΑΙΚΑ-  
 ΝΩΝ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ  
 ΑΥΧΩΚ ΝΤΜΕΤΨΕΜΨΙ · ΝΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗ  
 · ΜΦΡΗΤ ΕΤΑΥΤΗC ΝΩΟΥ · ΝΧΕ  
 ΝΙΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC  
 ΤΑΙΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΜΦΟΥΟΥ · ΜΦΡΗΤ  
 ΝΙΛΗΜ · ΠΕΡΦΕΙ ΕΨΟΝΙ · ΜΠΙΜΖΑΥ  
 ΝΤΕ ΠΟC\*  
 ΕΡΕ ΤΑΙΒΑΖΜΙ ΘΑΙ · ΜΦΡΗΤ  
 ΝΓΟΛΓΟΘΑ · ΕΤΑΥΘΩΟΥΤ ΕΡΟC ·  
 ΝΧΕ ΝΙΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC  
 ΕΤΑΨΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΡΩΟΥ · ΝΧΕ ΠΧC  
 ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤ · ΜΕΝΕΝCΑ ΕΤΑΨΤΩΝΨ ·  
 ΕΒΟΛΉΕΝ ΝΗΕΘΜΩΟΥΤ  
 ΧΕ ΤΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΩΤΕΝ · Ω  
 ΝΑΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΕΤCΩΤΠ · ΤΖΙΡΗΝΗ

واخذوا الطيب الموضوع على جسد ربنا يسوع  
 واخلطوه بدهن

واجتمعوا وطلبوا مع بعضهم بقلب واحد  
 صنعوا هذا

وكل واحد واحد منهم اخذ له جزوا من الدهن  
 لي مسح المومنين بالرب

ومضوا وبشروا بكلام الرب وردوا الامم الة  
 معرفة الحق

المومنين عمدوهم باسم المسيح ومسحوهم  
 بهذه المسحة المقدسة

هكذا صنع ابونا القديس العظيم البطريك ابونا  
 انبا فلان

واخذ طيبا ومرا وبخوراً كثير بذهب كثير

وجمع الاساقفة ابائنا من كل مكان في المسكونة

واجتمعوا الى الموضوع اعني الاساقفة وصنعوا  
 مثل القانون المقدس

وكملوا الخدمة الكهنوتية مثل ما اعطاهم  
 الرسل

هذه البيعة اليوم مثل يروشلیم هيكلها يشبه  
 قبر الرب\*

وهذه العلية مثل الجلجلة التي اجتمع فيها  
 الرسل

لما ظهر لهم المسيح الهنا بعد قيامته من  
 الاموات

وقال السلام لكم يا تلاميذي المختارين سلام ابي  
 اتركه لكم

<sup>50</sup> Read ΕΤΑΨΙΡΙ.

ἸΠΑΙΩΤ †ΧΩ ἸΜΟC ΝΕΜΩΤΕΝ  
 ΝΗΕΤΕΝΝΑCΟΝΖΟΥ · ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΖΟ  
 ἸΠΙΚΑΖΙ · ΕΥΕΩΠΙ ΕΥCΩΝΖ ·  
 ἸΖΡΗΙ ἮΕΝ ΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ  
 ΝΗΕΤΑΥΒΟΛΟΥ · ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΧΕΝ  
 ΠΙΚΑΖΙ · CΕΝΑΒΟΛΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ·  
 CΑΕΠΩΩΙ ΕΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ  
 ΑΥ† ἸΠΑΙΕΡΩΙΩΙ · ἸΝΗΕΘΗΟΥ  
 ΜΕΝΕΝCΩΟΥ · ΕΥCΩΝΖ ΟΥΟΖ  
 ΕΥΒΗΛ [sic]<sup>51</sup> · ἸΝΗΕΤCΩΕ  
 ΑΥΧΩΚ ἸΧΕ ΠCΑΧΙ · ἸΠΧC  
 ΠΕΝΝΟΥ† · ΧΕ †ΩΟΠ ΝΕΜΩΤΕΝ ·  
 ΩΑ ΠΧΩΚ ἸΝΙΕΝΕΖ  
 ΦΗΕΤΑ [sic]<sup>52</sup> ΠΕΥΧΙΝCΩΡ ·  
 Ε[sic]ΥΧΕΜΖΗΟΥ ἸΚΩΒ · ΕΥCΩΤΕΜ  
 Ε†CΜΗ · ἸΠΟΥΝΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΠΘΕΛΗΛ  
 ΧΕ ΑΜΩΙΝΙ ΖΑΡΟΙ ·  
 ΝΗΕΤCΜΑΡΩΟΥ† ἸΝΘΙ ·  
 ΑΡΙΚΛΟΡΟΝΟΜΙΝ · ἸΠΟΥΝΟΥ ἸΤΕ  
 ΠΕΚCΘC  
 ΝΕΝΙΟ† ἸΜΟΝΑΧΟC · ΕΤΑΥΗΙCΙ  
 ΝΕΜΑΝ · ΕΡΕ ΠCΘC † ΝΩΟΥ · ἮΕΝ  
 ΤΕΥΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ  
 ΖCΜΑΡΩΟΥ† ΑΛΗΘΩC · ΝΕΜ  
 ΠΕΚΙΩΤ ἸΑΓΑΘΟC · ΝΕΜ ΠΙΠΝΑ  
 ΕΘ · ΧΕ ΑΚΙ ΑΚCΩ† ἸΜΜΟΝ

ما ربطتموه على الارض يكون مربوط في  
 السموات

وما حللتموه على الارض يكون محلولاً في  
 السموات

اعطوا هذا السلطان للذين ياتوا بعدهم ليربطوا  
 ويحلوا الملايم

واكملوا كلام المسيح الهنا الكاين معنا الى كمال  
 الدهور

الذي اخذ الوزنة ردها مضاعفة وسمع صوت  
 الفرح والتهليل

قايلًا تعالوا الى يا مباركي ابي رثوا الميراث وفرح  
 الرب

ابائنا الرهبان الذين تعبوا معنا الرب يعطيهم  
 في ملكوته

تباركت بالحقيقة مع ابيك الصالح وروح القدس  
 لانك اتيت وخلصتنا  
 كمل بسلام الرب

## Translation

Psalm Adam to be sung for the consecration of the holy Myron.<sup>53</sup>

Oh, who will be able to talk about the glory and honour of the ointment of the  
 Myron,  
 that the Lord of Glory spoke<sup>54</sup> about to Moses the prophet in this manner,  
 saying:  
 "Take with you perfumes and select incense, myrrh, aloes and cinnamon,  
 crush them, make of them a holy ointment. Anoint the tabernacle and all the  
 vessels.

<sup>51</sup> Read ΕCΩΝΖ ΟΥΟΖ ΕΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ.

<sup>52</sup> According to the Arabic translation, it seems that the verb CΙ is missing.

<sup>53</sup> Written in Arabic.

<sup>54</sup> Arabic adds "Which is the Myron."

Anoint Aaron with this holy ointment in order that he become a priest for Me, serving the tabernacle."<sup>55</sup>

Thus the prophet did what the Lord God had told.

Samuel the prophet anointed the kings and the prophets too with the horn of oil.

He anointed David as king and prophet in the midst of his brothers.

He (David) spoke about the honour of this ointment here and there<sup>56</sup> in the psalm saying:

"Myrrh and stacte and cassia from your garments, they have made me happy."<sup>57</sup>

The wise Solomon, son of David, said about the glory of this holy ointment:

"Poured perfume is Your holy Name, and everywhere is better than incense."

When the Lord wished to save the world from destruction because of their injustices,

God sent His angel, the great Gabriel, the chosen announcer.

He came to the Virgin and announced to her the birth of God, the Word who took flesh.

He came to the World in the likeness of men and He performed acts worthy of God.

He resurrected the dead, purified the leprous and walked on the waves of the great waters.

The high priests of the Jews with all the people envied Him.

They delivered Him to Pilate in order to kill Him. They sentenced Him with the sentence of death.

The Jews crucified Him. And in Him was accomplished the word of the prophets.

Joseph and Nicodemus took His body and wound it with sheets of a pure shroud.<sup>58</sup>

They bought<sup>59</sup> incense and aloes, one hundred pounds of perfume and a chosen mixture.

The women saw the place where He had been laid. They prepared incense in order to anoint His body.

Very early in the morning, the Lord rose from death as one asleep.

He appeared to His disciples and ordered them to remain in Jerusalem.<sup>60</sup>

After his ascension to the Heavens, he sent the Paraclete upon them all like divided tongues of fire, and they talked in the languages of the Gentiles.<sup>61</sup>

They took the perfumes that (were on) the body of our Lord Jesus when buried, and mixed them with oil.

<sup>55</sup> Exodus 30: 26-38.

<sup>56</sup> Meaning uncertain.

<sup>57</sup> Ps 44 [45]: 9.

<sup>58</sup> The Coptic word **KAICI** is not attested in the New Testament.

<sup>59</sup> The Arabic has rendered it "they received," since the word **ⲙⲉⲡ** in Coptic has this double meaning.

<sup>60</sup> Arabic: "He appeared to His disciples and ordered them to go to the village of Jerusalem."

<sup>61</sup> Or "of the other people."

They assembled and they prayed, one another, over this mixture that was done.

Every one of them took for himself a share in order to anoint with it those who believe in the Lord.

They went and preached according to the Word of the Lord, and made the Gentiles return to know the Truth.

Those who believed were baptised in the name of Christ, and were anointed with this holy ointment.

Our holy father, the great patriarch, our father Abba N., did the same.

He took perfumes and aloes and many other incenses (worth) much gold.

He assembled our fathers the bishops from everywhere in the universe.

The bishops assembled in one place and did as this holy canon (rules).

They accomplished the priestly ministry as the Apostles had handed on<sup>62</sup> to them.

This church today is like Jerusalem, and its altar is like the sepulchre of our Lord,

This upper-room wherein the Apostles gathered is like Golgotha.

When Christ our God appeared to them after the resurrection from the dead, (saying:)

"Peace be with you, O My chosen disciples. The peace of My Father I will leave to you.

Whatsoever you shall bind on the face of<sup>63</sup> the earth shall be bound in the heavens.<sup>64</sup>

Whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in the heavens."

They gave to those who came after them this authority to bind and loose what is suitable.

The Word of Christ our God,<sup>65</sup> "I am with you till the end of the ages," was accomplished<sup>66</sup>

<sup>67</sup>They who took the talent and gained the same, heard the voice of joy and happiness:<sup>68</sup>

"Come to Me, you blessed of Me, inherit the joy of your Lord."<sup>69</sup>

Our fathers the monks who suffered with us, God will reward in His kingdom.

Truly blessed are You with Your Good Father and the Holy Spirit, for You came and saved us.

Finished in the peace of the Lord<sup>70</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Literally, "gave."

<sup>63</sup> Arabic omits.

<sup>64</sup> Matt 16:19-20.

<sup>65</sup> Arabic: "They accomplished the word of Christ our God, who is with us till the end of ages."

<sup>66</sup> Matt 28: 20.

<sup>67</sup> The Coptic text seems corrupt. Translation based on the Arabic. [Coptic: That who ??? his talents gained ?? times, hearing the voice ...].

<sup>68</sup> Matt 25:15-23.

<sup>69</sup> Matt 25:34.



## Commentary

This psali, more developed than the two previous ones, contains quotations from the Old and New Testaments.

It alludes to Ex 30:23-33, 1 Sam 16: 11-15, Ps 44:9, Prov 27:9(?), Lk 1: 26-36, Lk 24: 49, Jn 19:38-40, Jn 20: 1-20, Acts 2:1-13. It is important to mention that some of these quotations, i.e., Ex 30:23-33, John 19:38-40, are inspired by the readings of the rite of Consecration of the Myron, as well as by the prayers of the patriarch during the Consecration, i.e., the invocation of Samuel and Psalm 44.<sup>71</sup>

The last part, not taken from the Scriptures, resembles the text given by Ibn Kabar (d. 1234)<sup>72</sup> in chapter IX<sup>73</sup> of his book *Miṣbāḥ al-Zulmah fī Idāḥ al-Ḥidmah* [*The Lamp of Darkness of the Explanation of the Service*].<sup>74</sup>

## Lamp of Darkness

اتخذہ الآباء الرسل الحواريون من طيب  
الحنوط المقدس اللذان احضرهما يوسف  
الرامي ونيقوديموس وحنطا به جسد سيدنا  
وكانت زنته مائة رطل بالشامي واضافوه بزيت  
صاف فلسطيني وصلوا عليه وقدسوه بأجمعهم  
في العلية وصبروه خاتما للمعمودية وتوزعه  
التلاميذ المفترقون للبشارة المسيحية وصاروا  
يرشمون به كل من يؤمن ويعتمد

Our fathers the Apostles, the disciples, took from the perfumes and pure ointment, with which Joseph of Aramithea and Nicodemus wound the

## Psali

واخذوا الطيب الموضوع على جسد ربنا يسوع  
واخلطوه بدهن  
 واجتمعوا وطلبوا مع بعضهم بقلب واحد  
 صنعوا هذا  
 وكل واحد واحد منهم اخذ له جزوا من الدهن  
 لي مسح المومنين بالرب  
 ومضوا وبشروا بكلام الرب وردوا الامم الة  
 معرفة الحق  
 المومنين عمدوهم باسم المسيح ومسحوهم  
 بهذه المسحة المقدسة

They took the perfumes, which with they wound the *body* of our Lord Jesus and mixed with oil.

They assembled together and they

<sup>70</sup> In Arabic.

<sup>71</sup> Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, 225-230.

<sup>72</sup> Fuad Megally, "Chrism," CE 2, 521-522.

<sup>73</sup> Samir Khalil, مصباح الظلمة في ايضاح الخدمة [*The Lamp of Darkness for the Explanation of the Service*] (Cairo 1971) 350.

<sup>74</sup> On this book see Samir Khalil, "L'encyclopedie liturgique d'Ibn Kabar († 1324) et son apologie d'usage coptes," *Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler*, edited by H.-J. Feulner, E. Velkovska and R. F. Taft (OCA 260, Rome 2000) 629-65.

body of our Lord — its weight was a hundred of the Syrian pounds — and they added pure Palestinian oil and prayed in the upper room. They made it as a seal for baptism, and the disciples who had dispersed for the preaching of Christianity used it to sign with it whomever believes and gets baptized.

prayed with the others over this mixture that was made.

Every one of them took from it a share in order to anoint those who believe in the Lord.

They went and preached according to the Word of the Lord, and made the Gentiles return to the knowledge of the Truth.

Those who believed were baptised in the name of Christ, and were anointed with this holy ointment.

Then there comes a section recounting the preparation of the Myron. The comparison of the Church to Jerusalem is recurrent in the Copto-Arabic literature. John bishop of Assiut Manfalut and Abu-Tig,<sup>75</sup> praising the martyrs of Esna, compared Esna with Jerusalem.<sup>76</sup>

The last part is inspired by Matt 16:19-20, which are in fact the same words used in the absolutions of the Church.

The manuscript supposes that the rite of preparing the Myron will be performed in a monastery, doubtless that of Saint Macarius, which is why we find mention of "our fathers the monks." It seems that the composer of this psali is either a diocesan priest or a layman, for he calls the monks "our fathers," not "our brothers," which monks would have used to address each other, as in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.

## Conclusion

The psalis published here for the first time contribute to our knowledge of the rite of the Myron in the Middle-Ages.

Despite those dark ages, the compiler of this text is very learned in the Scriptures, since he quotes the Bible fully. He should be added to the great generation of Copto-Arabic scholars like Ibn Kabar and the al-Assal family.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Youhanna Nessim Youssef, "John Bishop of Assiut, Manfalut and Abu Tig," *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 5 (2008) 169-185.

<sup>76</sup> A. Khater, *Martyre des Citoyens d'Esna, de leur évêque Amon et de leur persécuteur Arien* (Studia Orientalia Christiana Aegyptiaca 18, Le Caire, 1981) 10 (text), 15 (trans.).

<sup>77</sup> A. Sidarus, "La renaissance copte arabe du Moyen Age," in *The Syriac Renaissance. Proceedings of the Expert Meeting (Nijmegen June 2005)*, ed. H. Teule Leuve (forthcoming). I would like to thank my friend Adel Sidarus who gave me a copy of his paper before its publication.

The psalis also allow us to express doubts about the identification of the Chrism Cell in the monastery of Saint Macarius.

Evelyn White had already noticed some ritual peculiarities at the Monastery of Saint Macarius,<sup>78</sup> Father Zanetti added two Tarh,<sup>79</sup> and it seems that our psalis were also part of this same corpus, since the text speaks about the "Upper-Room," which is found only in the monastery of Saint Macarius and not in the other places where the preparation of the Chrism was performed prior to the date of this manuscript, such as the churches of Cairo, Saint Mercurius during the time of Theodosius II in 1299,<sup>80</sup> or al-Mu'allaqah during the time of Athanasius III in 1251 and John VIII in 1320.<sup>81</sup>

### SUMMARY

Unlike other extant mss of the Rite of Preparation of the Holy Myron in the Coptic Church, the ms *Old Cairo Coptic Museum Lit. 253* does contain the text of the psalis chanted during the celebration of this rite. The present article edits critically for the first time the Coptic and Arabic texts of these chants, preceded by a description of the ms and followed by an English translation and detailed commentary on the texts and what can be gleaned from them for the history of the rite.

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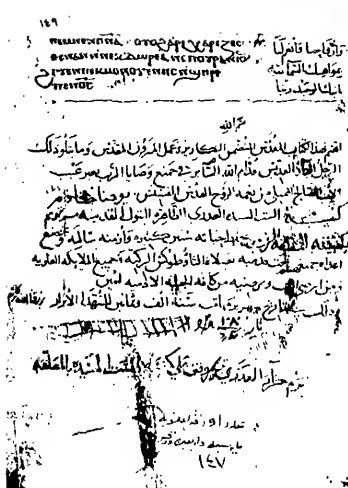
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<sup>78</sup> Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wādī 'N Natrūn*, Part II, *The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egypt Expedition, New York 1932) 378.

<sup>79</sup> U. Zanetti, "Deux chants de bienvenues à Scété," in *EYAOFHMA. Studies in Honor of Robert Taft*, S.J., ed. E. Carr, S. Parenti, A.A. Thiermeyer, E. Velkovska (Studia Anselmiana 110, Analecta Liturgica 17, Rome 1993) 593-611.

<sup>80</sup> Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église Copte*, 35-36. C. Coquin, *Les édifices chrétiens du Vieux-Caire*, Volume I: *Bibliographie et topographie historiques* (Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes 11, Le Caire 1974) 25.

<sup>81</sup> Coquin, *Les édifices chrétiens*, 73. We did not include the ceremony from the time of Cyril II and Gabriel II because there are no ancient sources for it.



1. Old Cairo Coptic Museum Lit. 253, fol. 149v: the colophon.



2. Coptic Museum -Old Cairo, Lit 253, fol. 107v-108r containing the psalis for the Myron.



George Nedungatt, S.J.

## Calamina, Kalamides, Cholamandalam

### Solution of a Riddle

The recently published *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* indicates Calamina as a town on the eastern sea coast of South India.<sup>1</sup> Calamina has long been a puzzle or riddle. Several early Christian sources mention Calamina as the place where St. Thomas the Apostle was martyred and buried in India. But the Indian tradition has situated the tomb of St. Thomas in Mylapore, whereas Calamina is unknown to it. Thus Calamina has long constituted a problem for scholars. A distinguished British historian Vincent A. Smith wrote more than a century ago:

If there is any basis of truth in the Gondophares legend, which seems probable, it is very improbable that the Mailapur story also can be founded on fact. ... Kalamina should be regarded as a place in fairy land, which it is vain to try to locate on a map.<sup>2</sup>

Consigning Calamina/Kalamina to the "fairy land" Vincent Smith liquidated the South Indian tradition about St. Thomas. However, after ten years of intense study, Smith retracted his statement and recognized the historical credentials of Mylapore, as we shall see below. It was observed recently: "In the Roman Martyrology the place where he died is given as Calamina. As yet it has not been identified, but it has sometimes been connected with Mylapore."<sup>3</sup> Calamina now figures on a modern map of ancient geography. The authors of this map have concluded correctly that behind "Calamina" there must be some geographical reality. However, the solution actually adopted risks perpetuating the long running misunderstanding that Calamina is a city or town instead of what it really is, namely, the name of the ancient South Indian country or kingdom of the Cholas.

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<sup>1</sup> Richard J. A. Talbert, ed., *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000, see map 5.

<sup>2</sup> Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press, 1997, art. "Thomas, St. Apostle," pp. 1612-1613, at 1613.

The present study proposes to show that Calamina refers to the country of the Cholas, in Tamil *Cholamantalam* (in Sanskrit, Cholamandalam, rendered in the West as Coromandel). The dynasty of the Cholas flourished in South India in the first Christian centuries and had their capital on the eastern coast on the Bay of Bengal, a coast that got its proper name Coromandel coast precisely from the Chola dynasty. The relationship between *Calamina* and *Cholamandalam* needs to be considered both historically and philologically.

### 1. *The Riddle or Problem*

Calamina assumes different forms in the ancient sources like *Calamina*, *Kalamina*, *Kalamine*, *Kalamene*, *Calamene*, *Calurmina*, *Calamy*, *Qalimaya*, *Aemina*, *Himinia*, *Kalamides*, etc. Even so, no city or town by any of these names was identified either in India or in Western geographers. Before the end of the seventeenth century Tillemont wrote as follows:

The city of Calamina does not tell us anything clear, although some say that St. Thomas died there. I believe rather that it is a place entirely unknown to antiquity.... It seems very probable that Calamina is the same place as Calamone, a city of Arabia.... It is at least more easy for the body of the Apostle to have been taken to Edessa from a city of Arabia that belonged to an Arabian prince rather than from Maliapur [*sic*].<sup>4</sup>

Behind Tillemont's suggestion that Calamina is the same as Calamone of Arabia seems to lurk the consciousness that India was often confused with Ethiopia in antiquity, a problem that deserves a discussion apart. It is curious that Tillemont found an argument that would weaken the case for the Indian apostolate of the Apostle Thomas in the greater ease with which his body could have been carried to Edessa from Arabia than from India. But Calamone is not attested in the sources as one of the many variations of Calamina. The solution to the Calamina riddle should be sought in India, not in Arabia.

Looking more closely at the problem we may note that the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* does not mention Calamina nor identify by name the place where the Apostle was put to death in India. According to the *Acts of Thomas*, the Apostle left the country of Gundaphar and went to "another country" where he was martyred. That country is not named in the *Acts*, which does not mention the name of the city or place where the

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<sup>4</sup> Louis-Sébastien Lenain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, Paris: Charles Robustel, 1701, p. 613.

Apostle met with his death. This means that, contrary to a widespread assumption, the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* is not the only source that was available to the Fathers of the Church who placed the mission and martyrdom of the Apostle Thomas in India. It is necessary to set aside this false assumption if the historical quest for this Apostle is to make any progress.

The latest conjecture about Calamina is that of the twin sisters Julien, who would shift Calamina from the east coast of South India to the west coast. "The only valid identification of Calamina with a city of India remains that of Kalliena (modern Kalyān) on the western coast of the Indian peninsula, north of Bombay."<sup>5</sup> Only? Perhaps the authors may not want to be so emphatic after a review of the several solutions that have been proposed to solve the Calamina riddle.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. Proposed Solutions

Henry Hosten (1873-1935) took the trouble of gathering together the various solutions proposed to date (1925), seven in number.<sup>7</sup> This Flemish Jesuit scholar had spent thirty-two years (1900-1932) in India before he came to grips with "a problem so intricate as to baffle all his energies and his whole ingenuity," as his biographer puts it, namely the tradition about the Apostle Thomas in India.<sup>8</sup> We shall list below the seven solutions of the Calamina riddle he listed and discussed. We shall look at three of them in some detail, omitting the others as no more than pedestrian popular philology. Indeed, some of them are quite fantastic, a few being mere refinements of others.

- 1) Calamina < Kallinmēl (Tamil: "on the stone"): (Kircher, Baldaeus). Cf. St. Thomas fell *on the stone* and died.
- 2) Calamina, Kalamitē < Calamina < Kallinmēl < Kallinmēlē < Kallinmītē, in Tamil "upon the stone"
- 3) Calamina < Galmona, in Syriac "*hillock*" < Tamil "Chinnamalai" = Little Mount (Stephen and others)

<sup>5</sup> Christelle Jullien and Florence Jullien, *Apôtres des Confins: Processus missionnaires chrétiens dans l'empire iranien* (Res Orientales 15), Byres-sur-Yvette, 2002, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> George Nedungatt, *Quest for the Historical Thomas Apostle of India: A Re-reading of the Evidence*, Theological Publications in India: Bangalore, 2008, pp. 428. The present article is a reworking of the chapter "The Calamina Riddle" of this work (pp. 157-173). All the ancient texts in which "Calamina" and its variants occur are cited in this book (pp. 181-211) but have not been reproduced in the present article to avoid making it too cumbersome.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Hosten, *Antiquities from San Thomé and Mylapore*, Madras: The Diocese of Mylapore, 1936, "Calamina," pp. 304-314.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, F. Eelen, S.J., "Life and Works of Fr. H. Hosten," xvii-xxvi, at p. xxv.

- 4) Calamina < Coromandel (Yule, Burnell); < Coromandal < Chola-mandalam (earlier Caldwell)
- 5) Calamina < Karumaṇal, in Tamil "*black sand*"
- 6) Calamina < Kalamina < Kalamēnē < Karamēnē < Karumaṇal, in Tamil "*black sand*," island (Hosten)
- 7) Calamina < Chinnamalai, in Tamil "*Little Mount*" (T. K. Joseph).

The first two solutions cited by Hosten are examples of popular etymology. They suppose that Calamina refers to the stone on which the Apostle Thomas allegedly fell when struck with a spear. Hosten dismissed also another suggestion as not worth discussion, namely *Kūrū-maṇḍala* proposed as the philological source of "Coromandel." He conceded that "'Coromandel' itself for Chōlamaṇḍalam, Chōlamaṇḍalam, Sōlamaṇḍalam, or kingdom of the Chōra, the Σῶρα of Ptolemy ... has a better chance." But he preferred to derive Calamina from Karumaṇal, suggesting that the latter may be the source of "the European 'Coromandel.'" Karumaṇal (= black sand) is a village not far from Mylapore where the sand has indeed *black* colour. The weakness of this solution, however, is that in the Indian tradition this village is not known to have had anything to do with St. Thomas. No pilgrim ever went there. It is all too unknown a place in India itself so that it could hardly have figured in the Western sources.

Another proposed solution is that Calamina is a variation of the Syriac *Galmona*, which translates the Tamil word *Chinnamalai* ("Little Mount"). The Little Mount or *Chinnamalai* is a cliff 300 feet above sea level, three kms from St. Thomas' Mount (*San Thomé* in Portuguese), Mylapore, and about twelve kms south-west of the city of Madras (currently called Chennai). Some have suggested that "Calamina" is the Western form of the Syriac *Galmona*.<sup>9</sup> Another suggestion is that of Adolph Medlycott that Calamina is a combination of *Elmina* (Syriac, "a port") preceded by *Kālāh*, the name of a place near India, the compound meaning the "port of Kālāh."<sup>10</sup>

Some other solutions have also been proposed to resolve the Calamina riddle, which are, however, too far-fetched. For example, *Kālamīn* is the Tamil name of a kind of fish or sturgeon; and it has been suggested that the place where St. Thomas was buried was or could have been named Calamina because of this fish, which was abundant in the nearby sea.

The British orientalist A. C. Burnell had long ago suggested that behind "Calamina" lay "Coromandel." Placid Podipara was inclined to ac-

<sup>9</sup> For example, following others, V. C. George, *Apostolate and Martyrdom of St. Thomas*, Ernakulam, 1964 (Bombay, 1969), pp. 66-88.

<sup>10</sup> Adolph Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, London: David Nutt, 1905. See "The Question of Calamina" (pp. 150-161), citation p. 153.



cept this suggestion as the right solution of "the Calamina riddle" as he called it. Podipara regarded "Calamina" as probably a "corruption of Cholamandalam,"<sup>11</sup> of which one ancient Western variant is "Choromandae." This trail deserves to be pursued further.

### 3. *Calamina in the Sources*

The first author known to have used "Calamina" as the name of the city or town where the Apostle Thomas was buried seems to be St. Jerome (ca 345-419/420), arguably the most erudite man of his time. In an anthology of the lives of "illustrious men," written in the year 392-393, he mentions the Apostles of Jesus Christ and their achievements. Among them St. Thomas is said to have preached to many peoples, beginning with the Parthians and ending with the Indians.

The Apostle Thomas, as it has been handed down to us by tradition, preached the Lord's gospel to the *Parthians*, the Medes, the Persians, Carmans, Hyrcanians, the Bactrians and the Magians. He slept in the city of Calamina, which is in *India*.<sup>12</sup>

Following Jerome's lead, Isidore of Seville (560-636) speaks of Calamina as the "city" in *India* where the Apostle Thomas died transfixed with a lance. Among other writers who refer to Calamina are Pseudo-Dorotheus (ca 600-800), the Codex of Fulda (early VIII cent.), Odericus Vitalis (1075 – after 1143), Dionysius Bar Salibi (d. 1171), Michael the Syrian (fl. 1166-1199), Bar Hebraeus, *alias* Gregorios Abu'l Pharag (1226-1286). Likewise the *Roman Martyrology*, which was revised by order of Pope Gregory XIII in 1584, records that the Apostle Thomas suffered martyrdom in India at Calamina.<sup>13</sup> The *Martyrology* of Hrabanus Maurus (780-856) also records that "Thomas went to a country of the east and preached the gospel there; he was pierced by a lance and died in Calamina (Calamia), a city of India."<sup>14</sup>

However, instead of naming a particular city or town other sources refer more broadly to the province or the *realm* of the rulers of the place where the tomb of the Apostle Thomas was situated, as we shall see be-

<sup>11</sup> Placid J. Podipara, *The Thomas Christians*, London: Darton / Bombay: St. Paul, 1970, p. 27.

<sup>12</sup> Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, Appendix: *De vitis apostolorum*, 5 (PL 23, 721B).

<sup>13</sup> *Martyrologium Romanum* in *Acta Sanctorum Decembris*, Bruxelles: Bollandists, 1940, p. 595.

<sup>14</sup> John McCulloh, ed., *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium* (Corpus Christianorum, Cont. Med. 44), Turnholt: Brepols, 1979, p. 130.

low. This way of designating the place also needs to be explored as indicating the more likely solution to the Calamina riddle.

#### 4. *The Historical Context*

Chola, Pandya and Chera were the three ancient lands or kingdoms of South India as is attested already by an inscription of the Mauryan emperor Asoka (273-232 B.C.). They belonged to the same Dravidian culture, but were divided politically most of the time. Tamil was the common language of South India in the first Christian centuries. Late in the first millennium Kerala (Chera) was politically under a Pandyan dynasty, and for about half a century till 1050, along with the Pandya kingdom, it was part of the Chola empire established by king Rājārāja (985-1012). Later under the Delhi sultanate (1206-1526), particularly during the Tughluq empire, Chola was one of the twenty-four provinces (till 1335) of this empire and was called Chola mandalam, which means the "Province of Chola."<sup>15</sup>

The kingdom of the Cholas stretched over Tiruchirapalli and Mysore, extending along the Coromandel coast to a northern border mostly formed by the Krishna River, but which varied according to the greater fortunes of the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas intent on their territorial expansion. The capital of the Cholas on the Coromandel coast shifted between Uraiyur, Kaveripattanam and Mahabalipuram. The Pandya kingdom had its capital in Madurai and comprised the present day districts of Madurai, Ramnad and Tirunelveli as well as a portion of southern Kerala. And the realm of the Cheras consisted of the rest of the region west of the Western Ghats reaching north till the Chandragiri river near Mangalore. The capital of the Cheras was Muziris (or Vanchinagar/Vanchipattanam/Kodungallur), a premier seaport, where western exports were unloaded and carried across the Palakkad mountain pass to the regions of Pandya and Chola.<sup>16</sup>

According to the Indian Christian tradition, the Apostle Thomas landed at Kodungallur (Muziris) and extended his evangelizing activity to the land of the Cholas on the Coromandel coast in the east. He was martyred and buried in the land of the Cholas. Before the end of the third century, however, the Christians had to flee from the eastern coast to the western coast together with the rest of the population of the

<sup>15</sup> Hermann Gundert, *A Malayalam and English Dictionary*, Mangalore: C. Stolz, 1972, p. 774, s. v. "mandalam."

<sup>16</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, Madras, 1955; idem, ed., *Comprehensive History of India*, Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1957, vol. II, pp. 499-500; *The Oxford History of India*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Oxford University Press: Delhi / London, 1958, pp. 220-221.

Coromandel coast in order to escape the wars, reign of terror and persecution unleashed by the Kalabhras in 293 A. D.<sup>17</sup> There are also indications that Mylapore fell victim to the ravages of the sea (tsunami?) at some time not yet determined historically. Become desolate and impoverished, Mylapore got less mention in connection with the tomb of the Apostle Thomas. However, the Christians of Malabar never forgot the tomb of their father in faith in the Chola kingdom or realm, in *Cholamandalam*, "the land of the Cholas."

This historical situation may be gauged from the way St. Gregory of Tours locates the tomb of the Apostle Thomas in India, "in the place of the region of India where it first rested."<sup>18</sup> Gregory does not name the place but resorts to a circumlocution, which seems significant. This lets us conceive an idea of the foreign pilgrims and traders who landed in Muziris (Kodungallur) and enquired, "Where is the tomb of the Apostle Thomas?" They would be told: "Not here but in *Cholamandalam*, in the land of the Cholas." From *Cholamandalam* emerged eventually *Calamina* and its many variants (see below) through the elision of the final component. This thesis finds substantiation in the following texts and testimonies.

## 5. Texts and Testimonies

5.1. A seventh-century Armenian text refers to the place where the Apostle Thomas was martyred as the "city of the Kalamides." The word "Kalamides" obviously resonates with "Cholamandalam," and the phrase "city of the Kalamides" refers to the city or kingdom of the ruling *dynasty* of the Chola kingdom.<sup>19</sup> This "Kalamides" would seem to have been filtered through a Greek medium from "Cholamandalam."

5.2. Marco Polo (ca 1254-1324), who visited India in 1293, does not mention either Mylapore or Calamina by name, which reminds us of

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<sup>17</sup> T. K. Joseph, "Kings and Christians in Kerala," *Kerala Society Papers* 2/8 (1931), reprint Thiruvananthapuram, 2 (1997), pp. 121-123. Also, George Mark Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India*, Bombay, 1964, p. 56.

<sup>18</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Miraculorum Libri*, 1, *De gloria martyrum* in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, ed. B. Krusch, Hanover, 1885, tom. I, pp. 507-508, §§ 31-32. Also, PL 71, 733: "His [Thomas's] blessed body was disinterred after a long time and transferred to a city called Edessa by the Syrians and was interred there. *In the place in the region of India* where it first rested stands a monastery as well as a church of striking dimensions, exquisitely decorated and structured."

<sup>19</sup> Michel van Esbroeck, "Neuf listes d'Apôtres orientales," *Augustinianum* 34 (1994) 109-199: "Thomas was martyred in the city of the Kalamides by being flayed alive" (113). Partial confusion with Bartholomew?

Gregory of Tours. Instead of naming a city or town he refers to the *province*: "The body of Messer Saint Thomas the Apostle lies in this *province* of Maabar at a certain little town having no great population.... Both Christians and Saracens, however, greatly frequent it in pilgrimage."<sup>20</sup> Let us note that "the little town" has "no great population," and it is not even mentioned by name. Marco Polo speaks rather of the "province of Maabar" in which it is situated. The Muslim conquerors gave the name Ma'bar (not to be confused with Malabar!) to the most southerly province of the Tughluk Empire. It was called the Province of Ma'bar and designated the lands or kingdoms of the Pandyas and the Cholas (Cholamandalam).<sup>21</sup>

5.3. Blessed Oderic of Pordenone, who visited Malabar about 1321, refers to the burial place of the Apostle Thomas: "From this *realm* (Malabar) it is a journey of ten days to another *realm*, ... which is called Mobar, and this is very great and has in it many cities and towns. And in this *realm* is laid the body of the Blessed Thomas the Apostle."<sup>22</sup> Significantly again, there is no mention of any city/town by name but only of the *realm*. What is meant is obviously the realm of the Cholas, Cholamandalam.

5.4. An Armenian manuscript written in the XV century mentions the land of "Tcholian" (Cholan): "Thomas ... entered Interior India, where he preached the Gospel and established the Church... Now his tomb is found in the city of the great Shah Dzoundzr, but the previous name of the city is Cholian."<sup>23</sup> Cholian (Cholamandalam) is called a city, but refers to the kingdom.

5.5. We meet with this usage in the ancient ballads of the Malabar tradition also. For example, *Mārgam-kali-pāttu* mentions Mylapore but adds a pertinent qualification. Thomas is said to have gone "to Mylapore, the residence of Cholan" (strophe 10 or 9), which means the realm or kingdom of the Chola king. In the *Rambānpāttu*, too, it is King Cholan or

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<sup>20</sup> Henry Yule, trans. and ed., *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., London, 1875, vol. II, chapter 18, p. 338. [Henry Yule and H. Cordier, ed., *The Travels of Marco Polo*, 2 vols, London, 1903; 3 vols., New York: Airmont Pub. Co., 1969]; Marco Polo, *Il milione*, ed. Ranieri Allulli, Milano: Mondadori, 1964 (1st ed., 1954), ch. 151, p. 285.

<sup>21</sup> A. M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity*, I, Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1984, p. 49: "Ma'bar was the name given by the Muslims of the 13th and 14th centuries to this country. Abdulfeda distinctly names Cape Comorin as the point where Malabar ended and Ma'bar began.... Ma'bar (Mabar, Maabar, Mabare, Mobar) = 'crossing place'."

<sup>22</sup> Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1866, vol. I, p. 80.

<sup>23</sup> Michel van Esbroeck, "Neuf listes d'Apôtres...": "Thomas alla du côté de Saba et entra dan l'Inde intérieure, il y prêcha et établit l'Église. Il fut achevé dans le thème qu'on appelle Susiane, et maintenant sa tombe se trouve dans la ville du grand Schah Dzoundzr, et le nom ancien est Tcholian, ...." (p. 122).

Chozhan Perumal who sends for the Apostle Thomas and it is under him that the Apostle is martyred, that is, in Cholamandalam.

It is to be noted that the place where the tomb of the Apostle Thomas is situated is often indicated in these texts by generic names or indirect expressions like "city of the Kalamides," or "province of Ma'bar," or "another realm," or "the city (state?) Cholian," or "the residence of Cholan," meaning obviously Cholamandalam. Mylapore is not mentioned.

In antiquity it was not unusual for cities and countries to be named after their founders or rulers or ruling dynasties as we see in the Graeco-Roman world but also elsewhere. *Alexandria* was named after its founder Alexander the Great, and *Antioch* after Antiochus Seleucus I. The Sea of Galilee was called the Sea of Tiberias (Jn 6: 1; 21: 1) after Tiberius Caesar. Such is also the origin of the name of the double city Seleucia-Ctesiphon built on either side of the river Tigris. Similarly, Rew-Ardashir carries the name of the founder of the second Persian empire Ardashir I. And Parthia was named after the Parthas. In South India the three kingdoms Chera, Pandya and Chola were the lands ruled by the Cheras, Pandyas and the Cholas, respectively. The Chera kingdom was called in the Asokan edict II *Keralaputra*, which was the Sanskrit translation of the Tamil *Chera-makan* ("the son of Chera,") or *Cheraman*. The land of the Cheras (or Cheramans) was Cheralam (> *Keralam*). Likewise the land of the Cholas was "Cholalam" or Cholamandalam, from which evolved Choromandal, Choromadae (in Graeco-Roman antiquity), and Coromandel and other related forms.

## 6. *The Mental Horizon*

For long the Calamina riddle evaded solution because the search was to find a city or town with that name, but not a land or country. And this search was bound to fail as it disregarded the mental horizon of those who used the place name Calamina. Regarding the proposal of "Cholamandalam" as the source of "Calamina," Hosten wrote: "That would be a pretty argument already, though there is the objection that Kalamina in this case is a big country, not a town."<sup>24</sup>

But the objection is the solution! Startling as it may sound, it is easy to understand that a small village or little town will hardly be known or mentioned abroad by name. For example, modern international air travellers may not know where Fiumicino Airport is, even if they are actually landing there — Fiumicino is a little town at the outskirts of which is

<sup>24</sup> Henry Hosten, *Antiquities from San Thomé and Mylapore*, Madras: The Diocese of Mylapore, 1936, "Calamina," pp. 304-314, at p. 308.

situated the international airport called Rome. Unlike Rome, which is widely known, Fiumicino will hardly be mentioned outside Italy in countries like Japan, India or America. Another illustration could be produced from my Indian passport, in which my place of birth is entered as Peringuzha, a small village, which one will not find even in a modern atlas. It is too small and insignificant to figure on any map of India or even on a more detailed map of the federal state of Kerala. Bearing this in mind, when I introduce myself to foreigners, I do not say I am from Peringuzha, which would baffle them, but I say simply I am from Kerala, the broader designation which is more likely to be understood abroad.

Similarly Mylapore, too, does not figure on a standard map of India. After being a well-known port in antiquity named *Maliarpha* or *Malippala* by Ptolemy,<sup>25</sup> Mylapore fell on evil days, as was stated before. It was abandoned for long except by the pilgrims who visited the tomb of St. Thomas. The name Mylapore did not make sense abroad any longer. The place where the tomb of the Apostle was situated needed to be identified differently as the country of the Cholas, *Cholamandalam*. This is not mere speculation. It is precisely thus that the medieval texts and visitors to the tomb of St. Thomas identify this place, as we saw above: the city of the Kalamides, the province of Ma'bar, etc. The ancient Malabar ballads indicate the city (state) Cholian, the place of Cholan, etc. Now, this is what was expressed by "Calamina" and "Kalamides" and the other foreign avatars of *Cholamandalam*, "the land or realm of the Cholas." Mid-way between "Cholamandalam" and "Calamina" stands "Kalamides," but "Coromandel" points to a peculiar problem of Dravidian phonetics, as we shall see below.

## 7. *Light from Philology*

The word "Cholamandalam" is composed of "Chola" and "maṇḍalam." In Sanskrit the word "maṇḍalam" ordinarily means "a disk, anything round, (but even triangular), a circle, globe, orb..." but it also means, according to Monier-Williams, "a district, arrondissement, territory, province, country (often at the end of modern names, e. g. Coro-mandel), a surrounding district or neighbouring state."<sup>26</sup> This Sanskrit scholar also cautioned: "A number of words apparently of Sanskrit origin have,

<sup>25</sup> *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, ed. C. F. A. Nobbe, Hildsheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung (reprint 1843-1845 ed., Leipzig), lib., VII § 82, p. 157; J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 2000.

<sup>26</sup> Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899; Indian edition, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970, p. 775, s. v. "mandala."

on closer examination, turned out to be merely Sanskritized Dravidian words."<sup>27</sup>

It may be asked whether "maṇḍalam" is the Sanskritized form of the Tamil word *maṇṭalam*, as certain Tamil scholars claim. The Dravidian word *maṇṭalam* is composed of two words, "*maṇṇu*," meaning "soil, earth, land"<sup>28</sup> and *talam*, which means "place or region, surface, plain, level." In Tamil and in Malayalam the word *mannan* has the meaning of "king", and it comes from *maṇṇu*., meaning "soil, earth, land."<sup>29</sup> According to this etymological suggestion, *Chōlamanḍalam* would be the Tamil compound word *Chōla+maṇṇ+talam*. This word consists of three parts, "Chōla+man+talam": *Chōla* (the dynasty), *mannu* (land, soil) and *talam* (territory, zone, area). Just as "Cheraman" (< Cheramakan) means the "Chera son, ruler, king," or sovereign of the Cheras, so also "Chōlaman" would mean the king of Chola. *Chōlamantalam* is the realm of Chola-man, the king of Chola. Dropping the last component of this word as pleonastic, "Calamina" emerged in the West, whereas "Coromandel" still keeps it with the elision only of the last syllable. Whatever one may make of this Tamil etymology, it may be noted that "maṇḍalam" is also a Pali word and has practically the same meaning as in Sanskrit: "a disk, a circle; circuit, circumference; a district comprising a number of villages, a region, a province...."<sup>30</sup>

The emergence of "Calamina" from "Cholamandalam" with the elision of the last two syllables is like the dropping of "city" from names like "Vatican City" and "Mexico City." These are full, official forms, but in common usage "City" is dropped and people say simply "the Vatican" and "Mexico." Such a process of simplification is very common; an example is the ancient capital of the Maurya Empire *Pataliputra* shortened to *Patna*. Likewise *Cholamandalam* also shrank into *Calamina*.

As regards the initial consonantal mutation there is the following philological consideration. In Aramaic, Greek, Latin and Arabic, which were the languages of communication in South India with traders and other visitors from the West in the early centuries, there is no palatal (*cha*), which occurs, for example, in English words like "such" or "much." Thus, in classical Latin "Caesar" was pronounced "Kaisar," which has endured as Kaiser = emperor, in German. Similarly, "Cicero" sounded like "Kikero." Likewise in South India "Keralam" emerged from

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p. ix.

<sup>28</sup> T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford: Clarendon, 1984, n. 4666, *maṇ*, p. 413.

<sup>29</sup> *Sabdatārāvali*, (Malayalam Dictionary), s. v. "mannan."

<sup>30</sup> Robert Caesar Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pali Language*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2005 (first ed., 1875), s. v. "maṇḍalam," p. 236.

"Chera+alam" (the land of the Cheras).<sup>31</sup> It may be noted that "Chola," has been written also as "Cola."<sup>32</sup> In fact in an ancient Western Latin text we find "Colamina" as a variant of "Calamina."<sup>33</sup>

As regards the change of the vowels ("o" and "a") in *Cholamandalam* > *Calamina* their interchange is so common as not to need illustration. What is *nāma* in Sanskrit, Hindi, Malayalam, etc. and is *Namen* in German and *Name* in English, becomes *nomen* (Latin), *nom* (French), *nome* (Italian), and *nombre* (Spanish). Again *caffè/kafé/Kaffee* becomes *coffee*, the German *kalt* turns *cold* in English. The Latin "pauper" changes to "pauvre" in French, "povero" in Italian, "pobre" in Spanish, and "poor" in English. Latin *papa* appears as English *pope*. East Syriac *alaha* ("God") is *aloho* in West Syriac, *allah* in Arabic. Kerala's Edappally became Rappolin for Europeans. In short, the interchange of the two vowels "a" and "o" is all too common.

We need hardly add that such metamorphosis is not peculiar to names but is a common philological phenomenon, which can be noticed in the etymology of many words. For example, in current English there are four words (*parole*, *parable*, *parabole*, *parabola*) which come from one and the same Greek word *parabolé* (= comparison) through the Latin *parabola/paravola*, which in its turn gave rise to *palabra* in Spanish, to *parole* in French, and to *parola* in Italian.

Such being the "genetics" of words, we need not be surprised if "Calamina" is not found as such anywhere in India. One should rather look for a word from which "Calamina" could have evolved. That word can be identified reasonably in "Cholamandalam," which is not the name of a city or town but designates "the land of the Cholas" in Tamil and Malayalam.

The emergence of *Calamina* from *Cholamandalam* will strike as more persuasive if we consider a few examples of morphological variations of proper names. These may be elementary for philologists and other experts of onomastics, but a few random illustrations from the East and

<sup>31</sup> The Cheras were a Tamil dynasty, which conquered the region west of the Western Ghats in the third century B.C., giving it the name Keralam (= Chera+alam). An Asokan edict of 257 B.C. mentions Keralaputra. "Keralaputra included south Kanara, Coorg, Malabar, the northern part of Travancore and southern part of Mysore" (R. C. Majumdar, ed., *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 2, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 6th ed., 1990 [1st ed. 1951], p. 78).

<sup>32</sup> K. A. N. Sastri, *The Colas*, 2 vols., Madras, 1935-37; *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, Madras, 1932.

<sup>33</sup> Theodor Schermann, *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae, Indices Apostolorum discipulorumque domini Dorotheo, Epiphania, Hippolyto aliisque vindicata*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1907, p. 213, Z 14.



from the West can be of help to students and non-specialists. Let us start with *Malabar*, which appears in no less than twelve variations.

Malabār = *Malavār, Malibār, Maribār, Maliabār, Melibār, Milibār, Minibar, Manibār, Minabār, Molebār, al-Manibār*

Kollam = *Kaulam, Kwalam, Kullam, Palumbum, Quilon*

Kozhikode = *Kalikuth, Calicut*

Keralaputra = *Kebrobotras* (Ptolemy) = *Colobotras* (Pliny) = *Kepprobotras* (*Peri-plus*)

Kayamkulam = *Cacolon*

Kuttanādu = *Cottonara*

Puthucheri ("new city") = *Poduke* (ancient Greek), *Pondicherry* (modern)

Velapura = *Bellere*

Chandragupta > *Sandrokottos*

Mahabalipuram > *Mamallapuram*

Broach < *Baragaza* < *Barygaza* < *Bharukaccha* < *Bhrigu-kacchcha* (Skt)

Patna < *Pātaliputra* > *Pali(m)bothra*

Kochi < *Kocchazhi* > *Cushi* > *Cochi(n)*

Kumari (*Cape*) *Comorin* > *Fumari, Cori*

Don < *Dominius*

Milton < *Middletown*

Turin < *Torino* < (*Augusta*) *Taurinorum*

Milan < *Milano* < *Mediolan(i)um*

Köln < *Cologne* < *Colonia Agrippina*

Lyons < *Lugdunum*

In the above list, a close parallel for the emergence of *Calamina* from *Chozhamandalam* with the mutation of *zha* into *la* can be found in the emergence of *Calicut* from *Kozhikode*.<sup>34</sup> To appreciate such phenomenon better one has to consider more closely this Dravidian phoneme represented variously by *l* or *zh* or *r*.

## 8. Peculiar Dravidian Phonemes

A Dravidian phonetic peculiarity needs to be particularly taken note of. Henry Hosten noted this peculiar phoneme during his long stay in India and wrote as follows.

<sup>34</sup> Foreign personal names have come into use in Kerala having undergone similar transformations: Abraham = *Avira*; Alexander = *Chandy*; Elizabetha = *Lissy*; Kuriakos = *Kurian*; Rebecca = *Akka*; Thomas = *Umman*, etc. For more examples see A. M. Marykutty, *Personal Names of Kerala Christians*, Edamattom: Indian Institute of Christian Studies, 1997, pp. 86-90.

The *r* in "Coromandel" is of a peculiar kind, difficult to represent in European letters. *Chosha* and *Sholay* are merely attempts on the part of the Indians themselves to do so. *Chosha* is the pronunciation in Malabar, at least to European ears....

More than one linguist has blundered through the similarity between the oriental spellings of Silan, Ceylon, and Shola, Chola, Sora, Chora, Chosha, for Coromandel.<sup>35</sup>

For all his keen on-the-spot observation Hosten could reach only an approximate pronunciation of the Indian original behind "Coromandel." It occurs in the surnames of not a few Indian students, and is the despair of their European professors who want to call them by name. In Malayalam it has three distinct symbols and sounds, in (popular) Tamil two, but there is only one in Sanskrit, English and other Indo-European languages. This peculiarity may be illustrated with the "l" in the following three Malayalam words: *tala* (head), *kāla* (ox) and *mala* (rain). The "l" in the first example *tala* is a palatal, common to Sanskrit, English (e.g. love, lake) and several other Indo-European languages. But the "l" in the second example *kāla* is an alveolar (called in modern phonetics a retroflex lateral) and is written with a dot underneath (*kāḷa*); it does not occur as a rule in European languages, although in the pronunciation of certain English words like "wall" or "fallen" an approximation of it may be heard. In the third case the "l" is a retro-alveolar and is marked sometimes in phonetic writing with a lineola or short line underneath; here I shall mark it with a lineola under *z* (*maṣa*) since this sound is expressed usually in Indian English with "zh," as in place names like Alapuzha and Kozhikode. However, this peculiar Dravidian phoneme has sometimes been rendered with an "r," as for example in *Damurike* (< Tamizhakam). In Syriac, too, an "r" is used to render the Dravidian *ja* or *za*: thus, for example, in the name of Bishop Louis Pazheparampil of Ernakulam the "zh" is rendered with an "r" in Syriac.<sup>36</sup> This phenomenon accounts for the emergence of the "r" in "Coromandel" in rendering "Cholamantalām." Moreover, the interchange of "l" and "r," called liquids in classical phonetics, is a frequent philological phenomenon.

As regards "Calamina" it is to be noted that it has not figured as the proper name of a city or town in the Thomas tradition in India whether

<sup>35</sup> Henry Hosten, *Antiquities from San Thomé and Mylapore*, Madras: The Diocese of Mylapore, 1936, p. 251.

<sup>36</sup> An illustration may be found in the Syriac inscription at the entrance to the Major Archbishop's (Cardinal's) House, Ernakulam. Bishop Louis Pazheparampil built this house in 1897. In the Syriac inscription the *zh* in his name is rendered with an "r". See Françoise Briquel Chatonnet, Alain Desreumaux, and Jacob Thekkeparampil, *Recueil des inscriptions syriaques*, tome I, Kérala, Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 2008, pp. 54-56.

as a synonym or as a rival of Mylapore. "Calamina" appeared in the West, and it is a *lectio difficilior* which needs interpretation. In the Indian tradition, Mylapore, situated on the Coromandel coast, is the city or town regularly and consistently associated with the martyrdom and burial of the Apostle Thomas. In course of time this maritime city fell victim to the ravages of the sea and of man and was practically forgotten in the West. And the name of the country or province ("Calamina") was substituted abroad till the Portuguese conducted excavations in the sixteenth century and reinstated the name Mylapore.

## 9. Critique of Other Solutions

As we saw earlier, several other solutions have been suggested to resolve the Calamina riddle. In some cases much ingenuity has been exercised and even voluminous works have been published. By way of a short critical review the following may be noted about the principal theories.

9.1. One proposed solution is philological: that "Calamina" is the Western form of the Tamil *kallinmēl* ("on a stone" or "upon a hill"). According to the Tamil epigraphist R. Kalikovan, the word 'Calamina' cannot be traced at all in Tamil epigraphy or in early Sangam Literature. Another Tamil scholar, K. Arasendiran, has tried to resolve the Calamina riddle with the help of etymology.<sup>37</sup> In his four-volume work on the Tamil stem *kal*, which is found in the word for "stone" or "hill" he affirms that *kal* appears as the stem of Latin words like *columna* (= English, *column*, a tall pillar); *columen*, *culmen* (= a summit); *collis* (= a hill); *celsus* (= high) and allied words like *culminare* (= to culminate, to come to the top). After elaborate etymological disquisitions the author concludes that the Tamil root '*kal*' lurks in the Latin '*columna*' (vol. 3, pp. 33-34) and that this *kal/cal* is to be found also in the name 'Calamina.' And Calamina refers to the fact that St. Thomas the Apostle was martyred *on a stone or a hill*.

Whatever be the merits of this Tamil etymology, the argument from *kallinmēl* does not clinch. The Roman Martyrology and the other sources that mention Calamina present it as a city or state (*civitas*). It is out of character for these sources to focus on a minute detail like a *stone* or a *hill* and leave out the name of the city or province where a saint died. Secondly, although in the Indian tradition the ballads which celebrate the martyrdom of the Apostle Thomas at Mylapore mention that he fell wounded on a stone (*kallinmēl*), they attach no particular importance to

<sup>37</sup> K. Arasendiran, *Cal: The Worldwide Disseminated Tamil Root 'Ca'*, 4 vols., Chennai: Cauvery Publishers, 2006.

this detail. Thirdly, *kallinmēl* does not account for the variants of Calamina like *Kalamides*. In sum, the thesis that Calamina comes from *kallinmēl* is far-fetched and fails to be convincing.

9.2. Another solution was proposed by T. K. Joseph, that Calamina represents Chinnamalai (in Tamil, Little Hill), the precise place in Mylapore where, according to tradition, the Apostle Thomas was martyred. In fact in the ancient Thomaschristian ballad the detail is mentioned that it was because Thomas refused to worship the goddess Kali while passing by her shrine "at Chinnamalai in Mylapore" (line 328) that he was killed with a spear thrust. Now this Chinnamalai is a minute geographical detail, on which, as was said above about the *stone*, it is not in the style of martyrology and other ancient sources to focus leaving out the wider geographical designation.

9.3. Still another suggestion based likewise on assonance is that the Syriac *Gilmona* (Little Mount) is the philological source of Calamina. There are two reasons for which this theory is not persuasive. First, as we have seen in the many examples given above, translation was *not* the way adopted in rendering foreign names. Second, no early Syriac source attests *Gilmona*, the first attestation being in a manuscript written in the year 874.<sup>38</sup> Latin sources dating back to the fourth century like Jerome speak of Calamina, so that it is even possible that *Gilmona* is a scribal rendering of Calamina. The consideration of time sequence is decisive in excluding *Gilmona* as the philological source of *Calamina*.

9.4. As regards Medlycott's opinion that *Calamina* is a combination of *Kālāh* and *Elmina*, meaning "port of Kālāh" in Syriac, we need say no more than that this author virtually nullifies his proposal when he adds: "That there existed *in the vicinity of India* [*sic*, stress added] a port bearing the name of Kalah is beyond doubt." This Kalah was in far off Sumatra, in South-east Asia!

9.5. Still another solution proposed to solve the Calamina riddle is that *Calamina* stands for *Kālamīn*, which in Tamil signifies a kind of fish or sturgeon. It has been asserted that this fish was abundant in the neighbouring sea, and so the place was named after this fish. On this supposition it is difficult to understand why the name Calamina spread in the West and is found only in foreign sources, while it has remained unknown to Indian geography and tradition expressed in the ballads. Different languages have words that sound alike but are unrelated except

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<sup>38</sup> *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. Joannes-Baptista Abbeloos and Thomas Josephus Lamy, Louvain: Chr. Peeters, 3 vols., 1872-1877, see vol. 3, pp. 9-10, n. 1: *Olymy* = *Qālimāyā*.

in the fancy of popular etymologies that attract the eye or tickle the ear but prove nothing. *Kālamīn* is best cast into the sea.

9.6. A view which was expressed recently and which was quoted earlier in the introduction, states that Calamina can be none other than Kalyan near Bombay on the west coast. This suggestion is not altogether new. Its basis is assonance between Calamina and Kalyan. Assonance, however, is an unsure guide in geography and history. The present theory not only ignores the long historical tradition about Mylapore tomb on the east coast, visited by Indian and foreign pilgrims across centuries, but ignores also the variants of Calamina like *Kalamides*. Besides the suggestion is unrelated to Dravidian history and philology.

9.7. Finally, although not discovered as a geographical locality but reached as a conclusion of historical enquiry, Calamina has figured lately on a prestigious map of antiquity, as was mentioned in the introduction. The most recent edition of the *Barrington Atlas* has indicated Calamina as a port-city on the Coromandel coast of India near Madras (modern Chennai). This must be appreciated as a fair attempt to do justice to history and tradition by situating Calamina on earth and not let it vanish in "fairy land" or transpose it to the west coast and let it coalesce with Kalyan. While this solution implicitly affirms the evangelization of India by the Apostle Thomas, it ignores the philology of "Calamina" and its variants. It also creates a rival to Mylapore, thus complicating the problem further. There is above all no trace of Calamina in the Indian tradition.

It is instructive, even humorous, to take a look at the dynamics of onomastics in hagiology, which tells us how new saints have emerged who never existed! For example, the name of St. Hedistus, patron of a church in Sabina in central Italy, underwent scribal variations such as Edistus, Eristus, Aristus till finally a new saint appeared with the name St. Oreste. Even more dramatically, from the Latin phrase *Ad septem palumbas* a new saint emerged with the Italian name *Santa Columba*.<sup>39</sup> To collocate Calamina as a city or town close to Madras/Chennai on the east coast of peninsular India may suggest itself as a (desperate?) solution of the persistent Calamina riddle, but that would be like the abortive birth of Santa Columba!

<sup>39</sup> Hippolyte Delehaye, *Sanctus* (Subsidia Hagiographica 17), Brussels, 1927, p. 210.

## 10. *The True Solution*

The distinguished British historian Vincent A. Smith had at first consigned Calamina to the "fairy land," but later retracted his opinion after a decade of closer study and wrote: "My personal impression, formed after much examination of the evidence, is that the story of the martyrdom [of the Apostle Thomas at Mylapore] in Southern India is the better supported of the two versions of the Saint's death."<sup>40</sup> Not many writers have owned up to or given proof of having done "much examination of evidence" by way of anything approaching a decade of close study.

"The city of Calamina does not tell us anything clear, although some say that St. Thomas died there," wrote Tillemont identifying Calamina as a "city" in the statement of the problem and setting afoot the search for a city. The search failed. One drastic solution was to consign Calamina to "fairy land." The suggestion made in the nineteenth century that "Calamina" is derived from "Cholamandalam," which was rendered as "Coromandel" in the West, was not followed through. Instead the search for a city by name Calamina continued. In vain.

What needed to be explored in the first place was how the idea that the tomb of the Apostle Thomas is in the *land of the Cholas* could be expressed in ancient Malayalam or Tamil. For there was reason to consider the land (country or kingdom) rather than the city or town. Mylapore, the town associated with the martyrdom of the Apostle Thomas in the Indian tradition, had fallen on evil days because of wars and persecutions, had been practically deserted before the end of the third century and had ceased to have any social or political importance. It also fell victim to the ravages of the sea at some time not yet determined historically. Far into the Middle Ages Mylapore was "a little town," as Marco Polo called it without naming it. Though frequented by pilgrims, it was difficult to indicate it to foreign enquirers in an intelligible manner. It was more easy and meaningful to identify it by the name of the realm or kingdom in which it was situated, *Cholamandalam*, the land of the Cholas. Dropping the last part of this compound word *Calamina* became current abroad assuming also somewhat modified forms in several languages. It also became a riddle since in India no city bearing the name Calamina could be identified.

The fact that the Fathers of the Church have handed down the name Calamina is not without some importance. Not a few writers have supposed that the Fathers who mention the mission of the Apostle Thomas in India all rely on the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* for their information

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<sup>40</sup> Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923, p. 126 (1st ed. 1908).

and therefore they are not independent witnesses. This presumption of dependence turns out to be unfounded inasmuch as the *ATH* does not contain the word Calamina at all. Therefore, the Fathers who mention Calamina cannot obviously be said to be relying on the *ATH* but are drawing on a different, independent source or tradition.

The Calamina riddle, which has long bedevilled scholarship, yields to a solution when it is realised that Calamina does not designate a city or town (as was generally misunderstood), but stands for the land, realm or kingdom of the Cholas. Mylapore is situated in the ancient Chola kingdom, the land or realm of the Cholas, called *Cholamandalam*. According to the Indian tradition, the Apostle Thomas was martyred and buried in the land of the Cholas. That is what Calamina in the Western sources also say.

### SUMMARY

According to several ancient Western sources, including the Roman Martyrology, St. Thomas the Apostle died a martyr in the city of Calamina in India. But Indian geography or history does not know any city by this name. In the new Barrington Atlas (2000), however, Calamina is shown as a city on the Bay of Bengal, while in the latest edition of the *Martyrologium Romanum* (2001) there is no more mention of Calamina. Calamina has long been a riddle. After a historical and philological enquiry the article examines critically the various solutions proposed. It resolves the riddle by showing that Calamina is the foreign form of the Tamil name for the Chola kingdom — not city — Cholamandalam, which survives as Choromandel.

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Vasile Mărculeț

## Un probable gouverneur du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon de la première partie du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle\*

La victoire décisive de l'empereur Basileios II le Macedoniën (976-1025) en 1018 sur le Tsarat Bulgare, finie par la suppression de ce dernier, a permis au souverain de Constantinople d'achever le procès d'organisation administrative-militaire et territoriale des régions du Nord de la péninsule Balkanique incorporées à l'Empire Byzantin. Dans les régions comprises entre le Danube inférieur à l'Ouest de Vidin, Les Monts des Balkans et le littoral de la mer Noire, du delta du Danube jusqu'au Sud de Varne a été organisée une unité administrative-militaire et territoriale appelée Paristrion, dans les sources littéraires, respectivement Paradounavon, dans les sources sigillographiques, que fonctionnera jusqu'à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>1</sup>.

La finalisation du procès de l'organisation administrative-militaire et territoriale du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon achevée entre 1018/1020, est mise en évidence de même par les titres de ses gouverneurs. On rencontre dès ce moment la généralisation des titres comme *katépan* (κατεπάνω), *duc* (δοῦξ) ou *archonte* (ἄρχων), utilisés dans les sources littéraires et sigillographiques pour désigner la fonction de gouverneur, qu'on ne rencontre pas pendant les décennies 1 et 2 du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Au Danube inférieur, comme au thème distincte *Le Strategat de Dristra-Dorostolon* les gouverneurs ont détenu, sans aucune exception le titre de *stratège* (στρατηγός)<sup>2</sup>. Après 1018/1020 l'emploi d'un autre terme — stratège, hégémon etc. — pour designer la qualité de gouverneur de la thème du Danube inférieur est une exception. L'étude présent traite d'une telle exception.

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\* Pour les abréviations bibliographiques voir à la fin de l'article.

<sup>1</sup> Stănescu 1968: 469-491; Bănescu 1946: 45-117; Madgearu 1999: 421-442; Mărculeț 2005: 120-122; Mărculeț 2006: 57-130; Mărculeț 2008: 7-142.

<sup>2</sup> Mărculeț 2005: 120-122; Mărculeț 2006: 48-56; Mărculeț 2007: 305-316.



Les sources littéraires et surtout celles sigillographiques mises en circulation jusqu'à présent ont permis aux spécialistes d'identifier un grand nombre des gouverneurs du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon, surtout de ceux du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, en remplissant ainsi pas à pas un trou de ce chapitre. Au dépit de ces résultats notables, les informations sur de longues périodes de temps concernant les gouverneurs et leur activité manquent.

Si quelques-uns des premiers katépanes, ducs et archontes du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon, ceux qui ont gouverné l'unité administrative-militaire et territoriale byzantine jusqu'au début des années '30 du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle sont assez bien connus, après cette date jusqu'à la moitié de la 5<sup>e</sup> décennie du même siècle toutes informations certaines sur les gouverneurs du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon comme sur leur activité manquent. Cependant au dépit de cette pénurie des nouvelles directes, nous pensons que par corroboration des informations indirectes et succinctes, transmises des sources littéraires avec celles transmises par les sources sigillographiques, nous sommes en mesure de proposer un autre gouverneur du Danube inférieur de la moitié de la 4<sup>e</sup> décennie du XI<sup>e</sup> siècles. L'identification de ce présumé gouverneur du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon est possible conformément aux informations transmises par des sources littéraires dans le contexte des invasions des Petchénègues à partir de la 4<sup>e</sup> décennie du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle vers les régions de l'est de la péninsule Balkanique, la zone dont la première région frappée était le thème Paristrion-Paradounavon.

Relatant une forte invasion des Petchénègues en 1036, qui a gravement affecté les territoires du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon, le chroniqueur Georgios Kedrenos raconte que les barbares «ont pris captifs aussi cinq stratèges, Ioannes Dermokaïtes, Bardas Ptetzes, Léon Chalkotoubès, Constantine Pterotes, Michel Strabotricares»<sup>3</sup>. Le chroniqueur byzantin ne définit pas quel niveau de commande ces stratèges ont détenu.

L'identification des stratèges respectifs et de leur niveau de commande détenu n'a pas préoccupé les spécialistes qui ont étudié l'histoire des dominations byzantines du Nord de la péninsule Balkanique et du Danube inférieur. Seulement Nicolae Bănescu entreprend une tentative extrêmement faible dans cette direction. Ainsi en analysant les informations de Georgios Kedrenos, l'historien roumain conclura vaguement que puisque les Petchénègues ont envahi le thème Paristrion-Paradounavon et «l'armée de ce thème ne pouvait pas être absente de la lutte contre les envahisseurs, il est fort probable que parmi les cinq stratèges

<sup>3</sup> Cedrenus, II, 1839: 514-515: «εἶλον δὲ καὶ στρατηγοὺς πέντε ζωγρίας, Ἰωάννην τὸν Δερμοκαΐτην, Βάρδαν τὸν Πέτζην, Λέοντα τὸν Χαλκοτούβην, Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Περρωτὸν καὶ τὸν Στραβοτριχάρην Μιχαήλ».

pris par les barbares se trouvait le commandant de Dristra»<sup>4</sup>. Nicolae Bănescu ne précise pas qui celui-ci était, en laissant en suspens son identification.

Dans de telles conditions nous avons décidé de reprendre dans l'étude présent la discussion sur l'histoire de cet aspect du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon. Sans avoir la prétention d'élucider complètement et définitivement le problème, nous considérons quand même que quelques hypothèses, à un degré relativement haut de véracité, peuvent être avancées. Mais cela suppose la prise en discussion, l'analyse et corroboration de toutes les informations dont nous disposons.

À côté des sources littéraires mentionnées nous disposons des sources sigillographiques que peuvent servir, dans une certaine mesure, à notre démarche. Ainsi, aux informations transmises par Georgios Kedrenos nous ajoutons encore un sceau découvert à Calarasi, daté par les spécialistes fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle et début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui a été en possession d'un certain «Léon, stratège histrien (Λέοντι στρατηγῷ Ἱστριν[ῶ])»<sup>5</sup>. La qualité de stratège indique le nommé Léon, possesseur du sceau, comme étant un des commandants des forces byzantines au Danube.

Le sceau en question lève un grand nombre de questions, desquelles on va répondre aux plus appropriées pour le problème que nous avons abordé. Qui a été ce Léon, stratège histrien? Quelle en est la fonction qu'il a accomplie au Bas-Danube? Peut-il être compté parmi les gouverneurs du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon de la première moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle ou plutôt a-t-il détenu une fonction de rang inférieur?

Selon notre avis, l'attribution correcte du sceau respectif peut constituer une pièce importante pour notre démarche. En ce contexte, nous considérons qu'une présentation sommaire des opinions exprimées n'est seulement utile, mais en premier nécessaire.

Le sceau découvert à Calarasi a été attribué au général Léon par l'historien roumain Ion Barnea, l'éditeur de Georgios Kedrenos, qui à son tour le montre comme «protovestiarios et drongarios de la flotte (πρωτοβεστιάριος, δρουγγάριος τοῦ στόλου ou δρουγγάριος τῶν πλωϊμῶν)»<sup>6</sup> mais Léon le Diacre, «patrikios et drongarios de la flotte (πατρίκιος καὶ πλωϊμου δρουγγάριος)»<sup>7</sup>, à qui l'empereur Ioannes (Jean) I Tzimiskès (969-976), a confié en 971 la commande des opérations militaires portées sur l'eau contre le prince de Kiev Sviatoslav I, qui est resté ensuite le commandant du thème du Danube<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Bănescu 1946: 74.

<sup>5</sup> Barnea 1964 : 240-245; Mititelu, Barnea 1966: 46-48.

<sup>6</sup> Cedrenus, II 1839: 392-393, 402-404, 424, 427.

<sup>7</sup> Diaconus 1828: 147.

<sup>8</sup> Barnea 1964: 242; Mititelu, Barnea 1966: 47; Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971: 75.

L'attribution de sceau proposée par Ion Barnea a été rejetée par l'historien français Vitalien Laurent. Celui-ci identifie dans le possesseur du sceau un certain «Λέοντι βασιλικῶν στρατοῦ καὶ τριβούν[ω]», auquel il dénie la qualité de gouverneur de Paristrion-Paradounavon<sup>9</sup>.

Plus tard, conformément aux nouvelles informations mises en circulation par les découvertes et la publication des sceaux de Léon Sarakinopoulos, le même historien roumain revenait sur l'attribution antérieure. Il a identifié le possesseur du sceau de Calarasi avec Léon Sarakinopoulos, le premier gouverneur connu comme étant celui de l'unité administrative-militaire et territoriale constitué par au Bas Danube par l'empereur Ioannes I Tzimiskès en 971<sup>10</sup>.

Est-elle véridique cette identification? Pour correctement répondre à cette question, il s'impose de réaliser une courte présentation des sceaux qui ont appartenu à Léon Sarakinopoulos suivie d'une comparaison de celles-ci avec le sceau de Léon, *stratège istrian*, découvert à Calarasi.

Le savant bulgare Ivan Iordanov a publié en 1982 pas moins que 29 sceaux, appartenant à Léon Sarakinopoulos, découvertes à Preslavul Mare, réanalysés ensuite en 1986 par l'archéologue roumain Petre Diaconu<sup>11</sup>. Dans ce but nous centrerons notre démarche sur la comparaison des légendes des sceaux respectifs.

Les sceaux de Léon Sarakinopoulos, publiés par Ivan Iordanov et discutés par Petre Diaconu, sont liés aux légendes suivantes: «Λέων βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωννουπόλεως ὁ Σαρακινόπουλος)», «Λέων Sarakinopoulos, protospatharios impérial et stratège de Dorostolon (Λέων βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δοροστόλου ὁ Σαρακινόπουλος)», «Λέων Sarakinopoulos, protospatharios impérial et stratège de Ioanoupolis et de Dorostolon (Λέων βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἰωννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου ὁ Σαρακινόπουλος)», «Λέων Sarakinopoulos, protospatharios impérial et domestikos des hikanats et [des scholes] de l'Occident (Λέων βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ δομέστιος τῶν ἱκανάτων καὶ Δύσεως ὁ Σαρακινόπουλος)», dans la lecture d'Ivan Iordanov, ou «Λέων Sarakinopoulos, protospatharios impérial et domestikos des hikanats de l'Occident (Λέων βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ δομέστιος τῶν ἱκανάτων τῆς Δύσεως ὁ Σαρακινόπουλος)», dans celle de Petre Diaconu, et «Λέων Sarakinopoulos, patrikios, comes staulou et logothet stratiotikos (Λέων πατρίκιος κόμης τοῦ σταύλου καὶ λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ ὁ Σαρακινόπουλος)», conformément à la lecture d'Ivan Iordanov, respectivement «Λέων Sarakinopoulos, patrikios,

<sup>9</sup> Laurent 1967: 238.

<sup>10</sup> Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971: 75.

<sup>11</sup> Diaconu 1986: 167-178.

comes staulou et grand curateur (Λέων πατρίκιος κόμης τοῦ σταύλου καὶ μέγας κουράτορ ὁ Σαρακινόπουλος)», conformément à la proposition de lecture de Petre Diaconu<sup>12</sup>.

Ainsi qu'on peut constater, la légende du sceau de «Léon, stratège histrien», découvert à Calarasi, ne présente pas d'identités ou similitudes avec aucunes des autres légendes des sceaux de Léon Sarakinopoulos, sans tenir compte de la lecture proposée. En conséquence, de ce point de vue, ce sceau ne peut pas être encadré dans aucunes des catégories proposées par les historiens mentionnés. En vertu de cette constatation nous nous posons la question: Est-ce que Léon Sarakinopoulos est-il vraiment le possesseur de sceau découvert à Calarasi? Une réponse affirmative à cette question ne peut pas être formulée que contre toutes les évidences, car le contenu des informations provenues des sources sigillographiques présentées infirment catégoriquement une telle attribution.

Notre constatation nous mène invariablement à la conclusion que étant découvert à Calarasi, il a appartenu à un fonctionnaire byzantin du Bas-Danube, dont le nom était Léon, un autre que Léon Sarakinopoulos. Qui était celui-la? Une identification même hypothétique sera-t-elle possible?

Même si nous ne disposons pas de dates supplémentaires, concernant ce problème, nous considérons quand même que les question formulées peuvent recevoir des réponses non seulement possible à un haut degré, mais, tout à fait véridiques. A cette cause, l'identification de ce personnage a une importance capitale à ce point de notre étude.

En vertu de cette conclusion, il convient de revenir sur la narration de Georgios Kedrenos concernant la stratèges capturés par les Petchénègues le printemps de l'an 1036. Nous constatons en nous appuyant sur les nouvelles sommaires transmises par le chroniqueur byzantin que parmi tous les commandants capturés par les Petchénègues, seul le stratège Léon Chalkotoubès a le nom prénom et la fonction identiques a ceux du possesseur du sceau découvert à Calarasi. Est-ce possible que cela soit une simple coïncidence? Nous considérons que ce n'est pas le cas. De plus, conformément aux sources desquelles nous disposons à présent, lui, il reste le seul commandant byzantin ayant ce prénom et cette fonction étant mentionné comme celui qui était actif au Bas-Danube pendant la première moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Le problème, que les informations transmises par Georgios Kedrenos pose est pourquoi, dans éventualité qu'il était prisonnier et en même temps le katépano de Paristrion-Paradounavon, il n'est pas mentionné avec sa fonction, séparément des autres stratèges? Entre les réponses possibles à ce problème deux peuvent être les plus plausibles: soit le fait

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*: 167-168, 173-174.

est dû à une lacune de l'auteur, soit le gouverneur du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon ne se trouvait pas parmi les prisonniers.

Donc parce que le sceau respectif ne peut pas être attribué à Léon Sarakinopoulos, nous considérons que la plus plausible attribution est celle de considérer le stratège Léon Chalkotoubès comme son possesseur. En conclusion, en corroborant les informations transmises par Georgios Kedrenos avec le sceau trouvé à Calarasi, nous osons de formuler l'hypothèse que, de notre point de vue, *Léon, le stratège histrien*, et le stratège Léon Chalkotoubès fait prisonnier par les Petchénègues en 1036 ont été bien probablement, une seule et même personne.

La question qu'une éventuelle confirmation de notre hypothèse générale est celle si Léon Chalkotoubès a été ou non le katépano du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon? Une réponse catégorique un sens où l'autre est difficile de construire. Mais nous pensons que pour formuler une réponse véridique à cette question il s'impose de s'arrêter brièvement sur la signification du titre du possesseur du sceau découvert à Calarasi. Le titre de stratège histrien montre le possesseur de ce sceau, comme étant le commandant de la défense de la frontière danubienne. Comme ce rôle revint pendant l'époque mentionnée au gouverneur du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon, nous pensons qu'il n'y a aucune erreur si on considère Léon, stratège histrien, respectivement Léon Chalkotoubès comme étant le détenteur pour cette fonction.

Dans l'opinion des éditeurs roumains la présence du sceau de Léon, le stratège histrien, sur la rive gauche du Danube inférieure confirmera une plus ancienne thèse du savant Nicolae Iorga, qui affirmait que «Le Danube n'était pas une ligne de frontière, mais une ligne de circulation intérieure»<sup>13</sup>. Ceux, ils considèrent donc, «qu'ainsi le problème de la domination temporelle du thème Paristrion et des quelques territoires situés sur la rive gauche du Danube se pose de nouveau»<sup>14</sup>.

En ce qui nous concerne, nous considérons qu'une extension du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon sur la rive gauche du Danube aussi pendant la moitié de la 4<sup>e</sup> décennie du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle est exclu. Déjà dès sa constitution par Basileios II, la frontière septentrionale de cette unité administrative-militaire et territoriale byzantine le constitua la rive droite du fleuve. Selon notre opinion, la présence du sceau de *Léon, stratège histrien* sur la rive gauche du fleuve met en évidence la position détenue de son possesseur dans la hiérarchie militaire et administrative byzantine au Bas-Danube. Très bien probable, la petite pièce en plombe sera accompagnée d'une lettre adressée de la part du gouverneur de Dristra à

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<sup>13</sup> Iorga 1922: 30; Iorga 1937: 366.

<sup>14</sup> Mititelu, Barnea 1966: 48.

quelqu'un potentat local du Nord du Danube, riverain du fleuve, du voisinage de son domaine de juridiction.

La manque de mention séparée du katépano de Paristrion-Paradounavon par le chroniqueur byzantin, dans l'éventualité de son absence parmi les commandants prisonniers, nous détermine à des circonspections. En conclusion nous soulignons nettement le fait qu'au niveau de la recherche actuelle du problème, notre opinion concernant l'identification proposée reste uniquement une hypothèse de travail.

Cependant, si cette hypothèse était confiée, nous serions en mesure de proposer aussi une datation de son gouvernance au Bas-Danube. Ainsi les nouvelles transmises par Georgios Kedrenos nous permettent de tirer la conclusion que la fin de sa gouvernance, doit être datée le printemps de la même année, surtout si en tient compte, que nous ne disposons pas des informations conformément auxquelles les stratèges capturés auraient été libérés et remis en fonction. En conséquence, le printemps de l'année 1036 peut être considéré un *terminus ante quem* de la gouvernance du stratège Léon en Paristrion-Paradounavon. En ce qui concerne le début de celle-ci, nous considérons qu'il doit être placé à une date antérieure à l'année 1036, laquelle nous ne pouvons pas préciser, ni même approximativement, au moins au niveau actuel de la recherche et dû aux informations que nous détenons à présent.

Dans un autre ordre d'idées, en acceptant avec grande circonspection les informations que nous détenons, nous précisons de même, que cependant on ne peut pas exclure le fait que les stratèges capturés par les Petchénègues nommés par Kedrenos, ne soient que de commandants des quelques échelons militaires de rang inférieur, c'est-à-dire *des tourmar-ches*, ou seulement les commandants de quelques unités militaires byzantines, qui se sont confrontées avec les Petchénègues, ou ceux à des garnisons des forteresses de la région, qui soit se sont affrontés avec les barbares, soit ont été conquérés par ceux-là. Dans une telle situation le katépano de Dristra, si lui-même n'est pas tombé prisonnier dans d'autres circonstances, ne peut pas être considéré parmi eux, surtout parce que en ce qui concerne la puissante forteresses du Danube, nous ne possédons pas d'informations qu'elle fut dévastées par les Petchénègues.

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Nous finirons l'étude présent avec la conclusion que, fondés sur les informations que nous détenons et sur les relations que celles-ci offrent, on peut bien proposer Léon Chalkotoubès, la même personne que Léon, *le stratège histrien*, comme hypothétique gouverneur du thème Paristrion-Paradounavon au milieu de la 4<sup>e</sup> décennie du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Conformément

aux même informations, nous considérons que le début de sa gouvernance doit être placée à une date antérieure à l'an 1036, et la fin de celle-ci à la fin de la même année.

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## Les titres des *kephalaia* dans l'Évangile de Luc en copte saïdique. Au sujet d'un article récent

Le P. Vindob. K. 7654, petit fragment d'un codex de Luc en copte saïdique, vient de faire l'objet d'une édition, avec un autre papyrus viennois qui contient un passage de la Lettre de Paul aux Galates<sup>1</sup>. L'A., comme à son habitude, nous gratifie d'un titre de trois lignes pour ces quelques bribes de textes bibliques — pourquoi encombrer ainsi nos bibliographies? — et sait bien mettre en valeur son travail dans le résumé en anglais placé tout à la fin: "this fragment is especially important in that it provides the *tituli* of Eusebius" (p. 84). Nous ne savions pas que les *kephalaia* des Évangiles avec leurs titres étaient l'œuvre d'Eusèbe de Césarée, mais ce qui est certain, c'est que ce fragment n'offre rien de bien original. En effet, s'il avait lu avec plus d'attention les travaux des deux savants qu'il cite p. 77, n. 2, George W. Horner<sup>2</sup> et Hans Quecke<sup>3</sup>, l'A. aurait aisément déchiffré la soit-disant énigme<sup>4</sup>.

Le troisième volume de Horner<sup>5</sup> contient en effet p. 340-342 l'édition d'une liste de titres pour l'Évangile de Luc publiés à partir de deux témoins<sup>6</sup>. Même plus: les "Notes on the fragments of Mss." des pages 377 à 385 relèvent systématiquement les titres contenus dans les témoins qu'il a collationnés; les deux répertoires des textes bibliques coptes récemment parus les mentionnent en toutes lettres et les complètent le cas

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<sup>1</sup> Hans Förster, "Zwei Papyrusfragmente mit sahidischen Texten aus dem Neuen Testament (Lk 9, 12b. 17c-18. 22b-23a und Gal 4, 20c-24a. 25c-28). Edition von P.Vindob. K. 7654 und P.Vindob. K. 7698", *Mitteilungen zur christlichen Archäologie* 15 (2009) 77-84.

<sup>2</sup> Selon l'A., les initiales de Horner seraient "E. W."

<sup>3</sup> *Das Lukasevangelium saidisch. Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 183 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M 569* (PapyCast 6), Barcelona 1977.

<sup>4</sup> P. 81: "Titulus: Der koptische Text ist rätselhaft."

<sup>5</sup> *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, Otherwise Called Sahidic and Thebaic*. Volume III: *The Gospel of S. John. Register of Fragments, etc. Facsimiles*, Oxford 1911.

<sup>6</sup> Il s'agit d'abord du n° 108 de Horner, sur lequel on verra A. Bouvarel-Boud'hors, *Catalogue des fragments coptes. I. Fragments bibliques nouvellement identifiés*, Paris 1987, p. 103, ainsi que "sa 134 L" dans Schmitz/Mink et "sa 587.13" dans Schussler (pour ces deux références, cf. la note suivante). L'autre témoin est appelé "Sayce 2": où se trouve-t-il aujourd'hui?



échéant<sup>7</sup>. On trouve chez Horner des titres pour l'Évangile de Luc p. 380 dans le n° 37<sup>8</sup>, p. 381 dans les n° 73<sup>9</sup> et 85<sup>10</sup>, p. 382 dans les n° 89<sup>11</sup> et 114<sup>12</sup>, ainsi que p. 383 dans le n° 126<sup>13</sup>. Un fragment de Paris inconnu de Horner restitue une liste avec une dizaine de titres<sup>14</sup>. Quant à l'édition de Luc par Quecke, elle donne tous les *kephalaia* en appendice, p. 277-279, d'après le manuscrit Morgan 569 qui nous en a conservé la liste pour chacun des quatre évangiles<sup>15</sup>.

Dans K. 7654, on voit qu'au dessus de la première ligne du verso, il y a le chiffre  $\bar{\lambda}$ , puis la préposition  $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$  suivie d'un  $\theta$  ; on peut alors restituer le titre du *kephalaion* 29 au recto selon M 569<sup>16</sup>:  $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \theta\epsilon \text{ } \overline{\text{NTANEC-MA}\theta\text{HTHC}} \text{ } \chi[\text{NOY}\chi]$ , littéralement: "[Au sujet de la manière] dont ses disciples [l']ont int[errogé]". Au verso, on lira avec M 569 pour le *kephalaion* 30:  $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \theta[\epsilon \text{ } \overline{\text{NTA}\chi\overline{\omega\beta\tau\chi}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}\sigma\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}\overline{\text{C}}}]$ , "Au sujet de la ma[nière dont s'est transfiguré Jésus]". De leur côté, les titres des *kephalaia* 29 et 30 publiés par Horner n'utilisent pas  $\theta\epsilon$  avec une relative<sup>17</sup>, mais une forme substantivée<sup>18</sup>.

Le papyrus viennois ne nous offre donc absolument aucune nouveauté sur la teneur des deux titres et K. 7654 n'est qu'un témoin qui s'ajoute à ceux, assez nombreux, que nous avons déjà en saïdique. Ce qui nous manque, c'est un article de synthèse sur le matériel à notre disposition; pour le bohaïrique qui a, en plus du système grec, une division pro-

<sup>7</sup> Cf. F. J. Schmitz, Gerd Mink, *Liste der koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. I. Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien* (ANTT 8,13,15), I-IIa-IIb, Berlin 1986-1991; Karlheinz Schüssler (Hrsg.), *Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament. Vollständiges Verzeichnis mit Standorten* (Biblia Coptica), Band 3, Lief. 1-4, sa 500-585, Wiesbaden 2001-2006; Band 4, Lief. 1-2, sa 586-672, Wiesbaden 2007-2009.

<sup>8</sup> "Sa 131" Schmitz/Mink, "sa 626" Schüssler.

<sup>9</sup> "Sa 123" Schmitz/Mink, "sa 531" Schüssler.

<sup>10</sup> "Sa 124" Schmitz/Mink, "sa 539" Schüssler.

<sup>11</sup> "Sa 107" Schmitz/Mink, "sa 603" Schüssler.

<sup>12</sup> "Sa 112" Schmitz/Mink, "sa 615" Schüssler.

<sup>13</sup> "Sa 153" Schmitz/Mink.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Bouvarel-Boud'hors 1987 (op. cit. n. 6), p. 55.

<sup>15</sup> "Sa 9" Schmitz/Mink, "sa 508" Schüssler. On trouve un renvoi à "Kephalaia" dans l'index de L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts In the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 4, Oriental Series 1), Louvain 1993, qui donne de la bibliographie à ce sujet p. 24, dans la notice détaillée de M 569.

<sup>16</sup> Quecke p. 278:  $\epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon \theta\epsilon \text{ } \overline{\text{NTA}\chi\overline{\omega\chi\text{OY}\chi}}$  (sic)  $\overline{\text{ZN}} \text{ } \overline{\text{TKAICAPIA}}$ .

<sup>17</sup> Forme qui n'est pas fréquente dans les titres publiés; outre les exemples de M 569, cf. Horner p. 383, n° 130 ("sa 129 A" Schmitz/Mink), pour Mc 12.

<sup>18</sup> Horner p. 341:  $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \text{ } \overline{\text{PEXNO}} \text{ } \overline{\text{MPTOC}} \text{ } \overline{\text{EZO}}[\text{YN MM}]\overline{\text{A}\theta\text{HT}}$  et  $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \text{ } \overline{\text{T}\sigma\text{IN}\overline{\omega\beta\tau\chi}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}\overline{\text{I}\overline{\text{C}}}}$ . ce dernier titre aussi dans Horner p. 381, n° 85 ("sa 124 D" Schmitz/Mink, "sa 539.4" Schüssler).

pre, nous pouvons au moins nous référer à l'article d'Adolphe Hebbelynck<sup>19</sup>.

À vrai dire — et cela est plus grave —, nous nous demandons si l'A. connaît bien son fonds<sup>20</sup>, puisque parmi les témoins des titres que nous avons mentionnés, certains se trouvent à Vienne et Karl Wesseli les a publiés il y a presque cent ans: K. 9087<sup>21</sup>, K. 9139<sup>22</sup>, K. 9150-9151<sup>23</sup>. Quoi qu'il en soit, on aura compris qu'il n'y a aucune raison de croire ou de faire croire que l'on a fait là une importante découverte!

Certes, la coptologie n'est pas une science bien répandue, mais il ne faudrait pas que se vérifiât l'adage qu'au pays des aveugles, les borgnes sont rois. L'A. serait donc plus prudent si, avant de les publier, il faisait lire ses articles à des personnes compétentes.

P.I.O.

Philippe Luisier, S.J.

<sup>19</sup> "Les κεφάλαια et les τίτλοι des Évangiles etc.", *Mus* 41 (1928) 81-120, cité par l'A. p. 77, n. 4, mais il n'a pas su en tirer avantage, puisque Hebbelynck, p. 82, avait bien relevé l'existence d'une liste de *kephalaia* dans M 569 (écrit par erreur "659").

<sup>20</sup> Relevons en passant le manuscrit "sa 201" Schmitz/Mink, "sa 598" Schüssler, des fragments de Luc sur papyrus conservés à Vienne, dont l'écriture ne semble pas trop éloignée de K. 7654, cf. le fac-similé dans Schüssler.

<sup>21</sup> "Sa 123 J" Schmitz/Mink, "sa 531.16" Schüssler. Cf. Carl Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts III* (StPP 12), Leipzig 1912, p. 72: ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΧΗΡΑ.

<sup>22</sup> "Sa 124 G" Schmitz/Mink, "sa 539.7.1" Schüssler. Cf. Wessely III, p. 97: ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΜΜΑΟ ΜΝ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΣ.

<sup>23</sup> "Sa 107 B" Schmitz/Mink, "sa 603.2" Schüssler. Cf. Wessely III, p. 77: ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΕΧΗΡΑ ΕΤ2Ν ΝΑΕΙΝ.

## Atene e la parabola della filosofia: una nuova analisi

Sull'argomento enunciato dal titolo è stato pubblicato recentemente un interessante studio di Marco Di Branco, in merito al quale ci pare opportuno fare alcune osservazioni<sup>1</sup>.

Sembra giusto ricordare quanto l'A. afferma nella sua introduzione: dopo il magistrale saggio di F. Gregorovius (*Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*), che risale alla fine del XIX sec., nulla di pluridisciplinare è stato dedicato ad Atene, benché ci sia stato nel frattempo un notevole aumento di documentazione archeologica ed epigrafica (con apporti desunti anche dalla numismatica e dalla prosopografia). Da questa constatazione e da una lunga permanenza nella città di Pericle, Di Branco ha scelto di affrontare il tardo antico ateniese coll'individuare cinque filoni di ricerca che, benché autonomi, vanno sempre ad intersecarsi e richiamarsi. Nell'intraprendere questa ricerca il metodo è, come accennato, pluridisciplinare o, per dirla con le parole dell'A.: "un approccio globale ... che si proponesse di individuare da un lato le linee generali della storia economica, politica, culturale e religiosa della città tra la fine del II e l'inizio del VI sec. d.C., e dall'altro di indagare sul nuovo immaginario<sup>2</sup> e sui nuovi valori che in essa lentamente si fanno strada" (p. XIII). L'A. mostra, in effetti, competenza nel leggere e criticare le molteplici fonti non solo letterarie, ma anche epigrafiche ed archeologiche (soprattutto nel cap. II); questa indubbia qualità rende lo scorrimento del testo lineare e coerente, pur nel richiamo a soggetti o personaggi che appaiono in primo piano in altre sezioni del libro. Innegabilmente Atene era stata dal II fino a tutto il IV secolo la città della filosofia (*La città dei sofisti* è il titolo del cap. I), lì ove filosofia integri ed inglobi la responsabilità politica

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<sup>1</sup> Marco Di Branco, *La città dei filosofi. Storia di Atene da Marco Aurelio a Giustiniano*. Con un'appendice su 'Atene immaginaria' nella letteratura bizantina, prefazione di G. Pugliese Carratelli, ed. Leo S. Olschki, Firenze 2006, pp. XV-299, s.i.p.

<sup>2</sup> *Imaginaire*, categoria letteraria coniata in modo esemplare da G. Dragon; C. Mango la indicava come *distorted mirror*: è la *Weltanschauung* retorico-letteraria tipica di Bisanzio medievale ma con sintomi anche in epoca tardoantica. Per l'immaginario bizantino su Atene, si veda anche il contributo dell'A., "Atene da Basilio II a Michele Coniata", in *Bisanzio nell'età dei Macedoni. Forme della produzione letteraria ed artistica*, a cura di F. Conca e G. Fiaccadori, Milano 2007, 77-93.

e culturale nel contesto urbano (Erode Attico, eroe nelle figure di Filostrato, diventa in queste pagine l'emblema della vita politica e sociale di Atene nel II sec. e prefigura la personalità urbana del sofista-filosofo che seguirà). Il I cap. lavora fra le *Vitae* di Filostrato e quelle di Eunapio: certamente le *Vitae* del primo sono scevre di quelle ombre neoplatoniche presenti in Eunapio, senza negare, tuttavia, un iniziale indizio del cristianesimo. Fra le fitte pagine di questa sezione resta da ricordare il sofista Proeresio, maestro non solo di Eunapio, ma anche di Basilio di Cesarea e di Gregorio di Nazianzo (essi studiano ad Atene fra il 350 e il 358): egli divenne il vero polo intellettuale intorno al quale girava la vita di Atene nel IV secolo. Il cap. II (*Tra Amfione e Achille*) affronta la lunga disputa relativa al sacco degli Eruli (nel 267) che tanto inchiostro ha fatto versare nella passata letteratura, acuita anche dalla posizione archeologica di A. Frantz cui giustamente l'A. oppone delle serie riserve<sup>3</sup>. La lettura di due iscrizioni (epigrammi), infisse nel muro "post-erule" porta sulla scena la figura del proconsole d'Acaia, Claudio Illirio. Il proconsole appare realmente come colui che ha organizzato la resistenza antibarbarica — costruzione della cinta interna di Atene e coordinatore della logistica difensiva — nel difficile momento dell'invasione, ma appare anche in un *milieu* mitico (la figura di Amfione, mitico costruttore delle mura di Tebe). Di Branco lavora sottilmente su questi due livelli storico-culturali, ricordando come gli aristocratici ateniesi del III sec. seguono due diversi percorsi nella propria carriera politica: la romanizzazione (entrare a far parte del senato, ed è il caso di Illirio), o restare, invece, nell'ambito della *polis* (il caso dei ben noti Dexitippo e Minuciano). Per Atene, per la sua difesa, queste due vie si uniscono in forza ed in nome delle antiche tradizioni. Legare Illirio alla figura di Amfione è il riconoscimento reso al proconsole da parte della tradizione classica della città (il rapporto con Eleusi); il proconsole infatti è stato benefattore della città (pp. 72-82). Un salto qualitativo nella cultura ateniese si ha nell'analisi della discesa di Alarico in Grecia (395-396); siamo ben oltre un secolo dall'evento degli Eruli. Il richiamo molto forte che avviene nell'*élite* ad Atena ed Achille (la teurgia) evidenzia la debolezza politica della città e l'esigenza di affidarsi a poteri soprannaturali: "dietro le pratiche teurgiche e le magiche apparizioni, si mostra in dissolvenza la frantumazione della classe dirigente ateniese ..." (p. 99). Il breve, ma interessante cap. III (*I giardini di Atene*): *Giuliano imperatore e l'utopia ateniese*, pp. 101-114) è una cerniera ed un passaggio nella nuova lettura, già immaginaria, che si ha di Atene. La figura dell'imperatore è ben evidenziata nella sua lettera "Al consiglio e al popolo di Atene": Atene, come appare

<sup>3</sup> Ben appropriata la citazione relativa all'archeologa italiana, I. Badini Lippolis, sulla esile coerenza cronologica dovuta al solo dato stratigrafico (p. 66).

nella lettera, è già una "figura letteraria", mitizzata, lontana dalla concretezza e realtà storica. Il cap. IV spiana una eccellente apertura intrapresa da Atene fra la fine del IV e per tutto il V sec. Alla città dei sofisti del cap. I, questo poderoso capitolo affronta Atene come "*Città dei filosofi. Filosofia e politica ad Atene da Plutarco a Damascio*" (pp. 115-179). La disamina dei testi e il riferimento alle dimensioni reali della città, ancora una volta con l'ausilio dell'archeologia, getta una luce più attinente al vero circa l'assunzione di una ininterrotta continuità di scuola filosofica in città dal periodo ellenistico alla tarda antichità. La galleria di personaggi illustri che in queste pagine trovano spazio e chiarimenti traccia l'irreversibile cammino che Atene ha intrapreso: il controllo esercitato dall'amministrazione romana sul "sistema scolastico" (*nomos attikós*) e, ovviamente, l'affermarsi del cristianesimo che intacca la consistenza dei poli di potere provocando sconvolgimenti nel quadro politico e sociale. Lo scolarca Siriano diventa per l'A. un personaggio chiave sulla genesi e natura della scuola neoplatonica; alla morte di Plutarco (431/432 o 433/434) è Siriano d'Alessandria (maestro di Proclo) a reggere le redini; in effetti è Proclo a rendere omaggio al suo maestro nel delicato epitaffio conservato nell'*Anth. Pal* VII, 341. Con Proclo la crisi che investe la città diventa eclatante nelle strutture economiche, politiche e religiose. Questo è il tempo in cui la stessa agorà ateniese diventa "spazio industriale", con fonderie e mulini ad acqua (interessante, ma lunga la discussione archeologica sulla presunta "casa di Proclo, pp. 152-5). Il sistema scolastico venne definitivamente intaccato dalla creazione della scuola imperiale a Costantinopoli, dovuta a Teodosio II. È vero: questo centro culturale, voluto e controllato dall'imperatore, diventa il vero polo dell'insegnamento pubblico, lasciando, di conseguenza, in lenta decadenza l'antica tradizione di Atene, di Alessandria, di Beirut (l'A. giustamente accenna alla pubblicazione del *Codex Theod.* che in modo normativo delinea un nuovo parametro di pensiero, diverso da quello della pagana Atene). Un ultimo spaccato di Atene ci è offerto dalla *Vita Isidori* di Damascio, scritta nelle prime decadi del VI sec. In essa troviamo una lunga carrellata di grammatici, filosofi e sofisti desunti dai frammenti conservati della *Vita*, pp. 159-163<sup>4</sup>: l'amara conclusione cui Damascio perviene è che la

<sup>4</sup> La ricostruzione del viaggio di Isidoro ad Aphrodisias di Caria (e, *en passant*, a Hierapolis di Frigia), pp. 163-164, pur non attinente formalmente ad Atene, apre tuttavia un orizzonte culturale simile per molti versi a quanto accade ad Atene in questo periodo: la presenza di Asclepiodoto ad Aphrodisias ed una possibile scuola di insegnamento (Ch. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, London 1989, nn. 53-54); la *Vita Severi* di Zaccaria Scolastico, oltre a citare il *milieu* intellettuale di Aphrodisias alla fine del V-inizi VI sec., delinea una convergenza di personaggi che da Alessandria e Beirut vanno verso la città caria; l'attività ancora del *Plutonein* a Hierapolis, ancora tangibile (Photius, *Biblioth.*, ed. R. Henry, 131).

società non offre più spazi di libertà per il vero filosofo. L'ultimo capitolo ("Quod ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis?" *Pagani e cristiani ad Atene da San Paolo a Giustiniano*, pp. 181-197) affronta il problema della cristianizzazione della città. Sono brevi pagine relative alla "ricostruzione degli eventi", dice l'A.<sup>5</sup>, lasciando in appendice le fonti agiografiche bizantine per il processo dell'immaginario sulla città. Le fonti a riguardo non sono molte<sup>6</sup>, e come di prassi, trattate ponderatamente dall'A. È pur vero che il *topos* dell'opera è Atene, ma lo stato di cose in continuo mutamento dalla fine del V sec. (pp. 190 e ss.) sarebbe stato di gran lunga più leggibile e utile per il lettore se, almeno di passaggio, si fosse citato ad esempio il caso del Marneion, a Gaza o del Sarapeion ad Alessandria, casi sostenuti da buone fonti. Atene comincia ad assumere i connotati cristiani a livello topografico — benché poco si sia detto della topografia cristiana del tempo che in altri contesti urbani è ben documentata — e monumentale. Fatalmente, e vien voglia di dire, logicamente, è questo il tempo nel quale accade l'evento chiave che pone definitivamente fine ad un mondo: nel 529, un decreto giustiniano chiude la Scuola Neoplatonica di Atene senza colpo ferire, ma solo apparentemente. Se volessimo ritmare il tempo, potremmo dire che la flessione dell'orizzonte classico è percepibile già nel tenore del testo di Damascio su Isidoro; l'inizio di un nuovo mondo, quello medievale, è già percepibile nella seconda metà del V sec.<sup>7</sup> e il decreto di Giustiniano non fa che porre un termine che altro non è se non l'inizio di Atene come normale città bizantina. La lunga Appendice (pp. 199-240: *Atene immaginaria. Il mito di Atene nella letteratura bizantina tra agiografia, teosofia e Mirabilia*) riproduce in gran parte quanto l'A. aveva pubblicato in precedenza altrove<sup>8</sup>. Sono pagine altamente stimolanti per il bizantinista e lo studioso della cultura medievale in genere; avvincente, ancora per le diverse sfaccettature che una differente

<sup>5</sup> A p. 182, n. 5, per la lista dei vescovi ateniesi converrebbe riferirsi, anche se essa non è del tutto affidabile, a G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Eccl. Orientalis*, I, Padova 1988, 489-493; per la situazione giuridica dell'episcopato ateniese nel V sec., cf J. Koder und F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*, TIB 8, Wien 1976, 51-54, 126-129.

<sup>6</sup> Per sottolineare più linearmente l'interesse di Eudocia per Atene, sarebbe stato meglio inserire nel testo l'epigramma onorario di Teodosio II, solo citato nella lunga nota 49, pp. 188-189.

<sup>7</sup> Gli studenti cristiani di Atene (S. Basilio e compagni) avevano già coniato quanto di più indistruttibile il cristianesimo creò nel corso del IV sec.: il simbolo niceno-costantinopolitano, impregnato di terminologia neoplatonica. A metà del V sec., inoltre, l'ultimo sforzo (ma ora l'ateneo costantinopolitano aveva già preso potere politico, come visto): le chiarificazioni e definizioni di Efeso e Calcedonia chiudono lo sforzo speculativo essenziale in campo cristologico.

<sup>8</sup> "Atene immaginaria", *RAL* s. IX, XVI (2005) 65-134 (se non vado errato si tratta dei *Rendiconti della classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accad. dei Lincei*; *RAL*, come abbreviazione non è stata registrata, ma presente in *Année Phil.*).

letteratura arreca su Atene, ora non più reale, ma fantastica, immaginata da un lontano e diverso contesto storico<sup>9</sup>. Nella letteratura analizzata la città reale è del tutto assente, apparendo quasi a-temporale e a-spaziale; sono reiterate le intenzioni di far rivivere, pur se miticamente, l'antica grandezza della *polis*, con la speranza di conciliare la saggezza pagana con il cristianesimo: Un verso dell'*Akathistos*, ben scelto dall'A., chiude definitivamente la faccenda: "Ave [Theotokos], o tu che laceri le trame intricate degli Ateniesi" (p. 231). L'opera di M. Di Branco è certamente un lavoro eccellente e denso di stimolanti provocazioni culturali causate dall'esteso materiale che egli ha finemente vagliato e criticamente presentato. A volte, tuttavia, un eccessivo uso di citazioni, lunghe e brevi, nel corso del testo o nelle note, allorquando si tratta di puntualizzare una lettura testuale o archeologica, appesantisce la lettura rendendo la posizione dell'A. quasi marginale. Sarebbe stato di gran lungo più conveniente stabilire la personale interpretazione rimandando alle note il criticismo della passata letteratura. Benché incentrato sulla solo Atene, questo libro resta un ottimo strumento di lavoro per leggere con un realismo direi filologico il medesimo processo, certamente in scale minore, avvenuto nella grandi città ellenistiche dell'Asia Minore. Il metodo utilizzato dall'A. può, con toni ed accenti diversi, essere applicato alla storia della grandi città microasiatiche qualcuna delle quali ha oggi consegnato un consistente deposito archeologico ed epigrafico.

Pontificio Istituto Orientale

Vincenzo Ruggieri

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<sup>9</sup> La presenza di Paolo sull'Areopago (Atti 17, 16-34: la citazione conveniva farla a p. 200 e non tanto a p. 206 e 209), ben sappiamo, risulta un fallimento. Non credo, tuttavia, che "Tanastasis ... è addirittura scambiata dall'uditorio per una divinità straniera" (p. 200). L'ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν (il genitivo specifica di che tipo di risurrezione si tratta) è quanto invece risulta alieno agli uditori ateniesi.

BLUM, Georg Günter, *Byzantinische Mystik. Ihre Praxis und Theologie vom 7. Jahrhundert bis zum Beginn der Turkokratie, ihre Fortdauer in der Neuzeit* [Forum Orthodoxer Theologie 8], Lit-Verlag, Münster 2009, pp. 510, € 79,90.

Worte wie „byzantinisch“ und „Mystik“ verfügen über eine große Anziehungskraft. Einem Buch, das unter dem Titel „Byzantinische Mystik“ auf den Markt kommt, ist Aufmerksamkeit sicher. Anders ist es nicht zu erklären, daß immer wieder Werke unter diesem Titel erscheinen, die dem Inhalt nach auch ganz prosaisch „Griechische Literatur des Mittelalters“ heißen könnten. Bereits vor mehr als zwanzig Jahren hat Klaus Dahme die Publikation *Byzantinische Mystik. Ein Textbuch aus der „Philokalia“*, Bd. 1: Das Erbe der Mönchsväter, Salzburg 1989, Bd. 2, Salzburg 1995 (Otto-Müller-Verlag) herausgegeben. Schon der Untertitel weist darauf hin, daß im Westen das Interesse an ostkirchlicher Mystik durch die Philokalie angeregt wurde, die allerdings bis vor nicht all zu langer Zeit nur ausschnittsweise durch die *Erzählungen des russischen Pilgers*, die *Kleine Philokalie* u.ä. zugänglich war. Daß nun komplette Übersetzungen der Philokalie seit 2004 auch auf deutsch zur Verfügung stehen, hat es dem Leser nicht unbedingt leichter gemacht, den Hunger nach Mystik zu stillen. Es handelt sich um keine leichte Kost, die — ohne „vorgekaut“ zu werden — für den westlichen Leser nahezu ungenießbar ist. Selbst im orthodoxen Osten werden mystische Texte nur zaghaft freigegeben — aus Furcht, man würde vorzeitig, d.h. ohne entsprechende Unterscheidungsgabe nach mystischen Erlebnissen trachten und dabei schädlicher Pseudomystik anheimfallen. Außerdem folgt die Textauswahl in der Philokalie nicht leicht nachvollziehbaren Kriterien. Dies alles läßt Raum für Werke, wie das als 8. Band der von Karl Christian Felmy und Ioan I. Ică geleiteten Reihe *Forum Orthodoxer Theologie* des Lit-Verlages im Jahre 2009 erschienene Buch *Byzantinische Mystik. Ihre Praxis und Theologie vom 7. Jahrhundert bis zum Beginn der Turkokratie, ihre Fortdauer in der Neuzeit*. Georg Günter Blum, der Autor dieser 510 Seiten zählenden Publikation, ist kein Unbekannter. In Deutschland hat er sich unter anderem durch seine vergleichenden Studien über christliche und außerchristliche Mystik einen Namen gemacht, zuletzt durch *Die Geschichte der Begegnung christlich-orientalischer Mystik mit der Mystik des Islams* [Orientalia Biblica et Christiana, Bd. 17], Wiesbaden 2009. Die vom Päpstlichen Orientalischen Institut herausgegebenen *Acta* des im Jahre 1980 organisierten *III<sup>e</sup> Symposium syriacum: les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures* (Goslar 7-11 Septembre 1980), édité par René Lavenant, S.J., in: OCA 221, 1983, beinhalten auch Blums Beitrag *Christlich-orientalische Mystik und Sufismus. Zu Grundproblemen ihres Kontaktes und ihrer gegenseitiger Beeinflussung* (S. 261-271).

In einer kaum mehr als eine Seite zählenden Einführung beschränkt sich G. G. Blum auf die Begriffsklärung des „Byzantinischen“. In Anlehnung an Hans Georg Beck stellt er fest, daß man zwar von der Gründung Konstantinopels (330)



bis zu seinem Fall (1453) von einem „byzantinischen Jahrtausend“ sprechen könne, es hingegen aber nicht sinnvoll sei, auch die christliche Mystik dieses Zeitraumes als „byzantinisch“ zu bezeichnen. Dies gelte für Mystiker wie Dionysios Areopagites und Diadochos von Photike sowie für die in dieser Zeit lebenden Wüstenväter. Von einer im spezifischen Sinne byzantinischen Mystik kann nach Blum „erst für die Epoche nach dem Einbruch des Islams in die christliche Welt im 7. Jahrhundert und für die weiterhin unter byzantinischer Herrschaft lebenden Christen gesprochen werden, während sich in dieser Zeit in Mesopotamien in der unter muslimischer Herrschaft stehenden ‚Alten Kirche des Ostens‘ eine eigenständige syrisch-orientalische Mystik entwickelte“ (S. 1). Damit erklärt der Autor, warum er mit Maximos dem Bekenner (580-662) beginnt, dem „ersten großen Vertreter einer spezifisch byzantinischen Mystik“. Das Ende der Epoche der byzantinischen Mystik setzt er hingegen nicht fest, sondern läßt es bis zur Neuzeit auslaufen. Konkret heißt das, daß er die Reihe der herausragendsten Vertreter der byzantinischen Mystik mit Johannes Sinaites/Johannes Klimakos, Hesychios, Theodoros von Studion, Symeon dem Neuen Theologen, Niketas Stethatos, Philotheos Sinaites, Theoleptos von Philadelpheia, Nikephoros dem Hesychasten und Pseudo-Symeon fortsetzt, sie über Gregorios Sinaites, Gregorios Palamas und Nikolaos Kabasilas bis zu den beiden Mönchen Kallistos und Ignatios Xanthopoulos weiterführt. Im vorletzten Kapitel wirft der Autor einen Blick auf „Die Entwicklung des Hesychasmus in der Neuzeit“ (S. 485-495), indem er vom Erscheinen der Philokalie ausgeht und bis zum russischen Heiligen Seraphim von Sarow (1759-1933) bzw. dem ihm zugeschriebenen „Gespräch mit Nikolai Motowilow“ gelangt. Auch das letzte Kapitel „Himmlicher Gottesdienst — Göttliche Liturgie“ soll den „bis in die Gegenwart reichenden Einfluß der Praxis und Theologie der byzantinischen Mystik“ aufzeigen (S. 497-510). Diese letzten zwei Kapitel sind also nicht jeweils namentlich einem Autor gewidmet, sondern werden thematisch gestaltet wie bereits das IV. Kapitel (S. 181-202), in dem Blum einen kurzen Abriss der Theologie der Ikone gibt sowie die Grundlinien des Ikonoklasmustreites nachzeichnet.

Grundsätzlich hält sich der Verfasser also an die philokalischen Autoren, deren Texte er teilweise aus der Philokalie übernimmt. Das Fehlen einer allgemeinen Einführung soll wohl durch die Einführungen in die einzelnen Kapitel und auch dadurch aufgewogen werden, daß nicht einfach Texte wiedergegeben, sondern sie gleichsam in verdauliche Portionen zerstückelt und mit Kommentaren aufbereitet auch für den „Laien“ genießbar gemacht werden: der Leser wird also gleichsam mystagogisch durch die Texte geführt. Er wird dadurch einerseits auf die Lektüre der Philokalie vorbereitet, andererseits bekommt er ein vollständigeres Bild, da auch Themen angesprochen werden wie das der Ikonen und der Liturgie, welche von der Philokalie gemieden werden. Daß diese Veröffentlichung nicht gerade den ganz unbedarften Leser anzusprechen beabsichtigt, wird unter anderem dadurch deutlich, daß die Schlüsselbegriffe auch im griechischen Wortlaut transkribiert werden, wie z.B. „Leidenschaftslosigkeit/apatheia“ (S. 241), „Zerknirschung/penthos“ (S. 244). Der Buchautor hätte diese Methode aber konsequenter durchziehen können. Während er auf S. 261 durchblicken läßt,

warum er „aisthesis noera“ mit „geistige Empfindung“ (auf S. 267 als „Wahrnehmung“) übersetzt, ist es an anderen Stellen wegen des Fehlens des griechischen Ausdrucks nicht klar, warum er zwischen „geistig“ und „geistlich“ schwankt, auf S. 266 etwa aisthesis als „geistliche“ Erfahrung übersetzt und im Übrigen es in seinen eigenen Texten vorzieht, von „geistlichem Bewußtsein“ (S. 254) oder „geistlicher“ Erfahrung (S. 255) zu sprechen. Ein Problem besteht darin, daß diese Termini nicht — wenigstens in einer Fußnote — in einem breiteren Zusammenhang erklärt werden, sondern ihre Kenntnis einfach vorausgesetzt wird. Auch die im Anschluß an jedes der 16 Kapitel aufgeführten Nachweise der zitierten Texte, der vom Forscher benutzten Übersetzungen und der wichtigsten Sekundärliteratur sind nur für Eingeweihte eine Hilfe. Ähnliches gilt auch für eher ungewöhnliche Begriffe wie die vom Autor etwa auf Evagrius bezogene „Mystologie“ (wissenschaftliche Erforschung der Mystik). Nach unserem Dafürhalten durch eine umfassende Einführung in die Grundbegriffe der Spiritualität des christlichen Ostens hätte das Werk nur gewonnen — nicht zuletzt um den potentiellen Leserkreis zu erweitern (vgl. dazu das Werk *Mistici bizantini*, a cura di Antonio Rigo, Torino 2008, das über den Einführungen in die einzelnen Kapitel hinaus eine generelle Einführung von mehr als 80 Seiten bietet!). Das Fehlen zumindest eines Sachregisters macht sich ebenfalls bemerkbar. Es ist im Übrigen bedauerlich, daß zahlreiche Druckfehler den guten Eindruck dieses wertvollen Buches trüben. Besonders bei den Literaturnachweisen fehlt es des öfteren an der nötigen Sorgfalt: etwa auf S. 264 anstelle von „Georges A. Moloney“ wäre George A. Maloney und anstelle von „Henry“ Alfeyev Hilarion korrekt; auf S. 496 soll es Elia Citterio statt „Cittero“ heißen. Trotz kleiner Unvollkommenheiten muß bescheinigt werden, daß Georg Günter Blum dem Leser ein Buch in die Hand gibt, dessen Lektüre einen wahren geistlichen Genuß bereitet.

R. Čemus, S.I.

BOUCHER, Jean, *Viaggio in Terrasanta*. Compendio italiano inedito del *Bouquet sacré composé des plus belles fleurs de la Terre Sainte*, Edizione e commento a cura di Claudio Sensi [Oltremare 11, Viaggiatori italiani dal Medio Evo al Rinascimento], Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria 2009, pp. CXII + 521, € 45,00.

Nel genere letterario odeporico figurano anche le memorie di chi visita la Terra Santa. È il caso di Jean Boucher, sacerdote francescano, zelante, colto e buon predicatore. Nato a Le Mans verso il 1560, è Padre Guardiano del convento locale. Publica nel 1614 la sua esperienza di pellegrino in Terra Santa durata quasi un triennio. Muore nella città natale l'anno 1631. Il suo libro ha grande successo: almeno cinquanta edizioni o ristampe (p. xvi). Un'ennesima edizione, commentata da M. Christine Gomez-Géraud, è uscita di recente a Parigi presso l'editore Champion (p. vi). Ma la fortuna dell'opera continua. Alessandra Rufino ne ha scoperto una traduzione italiana compendiosa, eseguita nella seconda metà del 1700. Si trova nel MS 98 della Biblioteca Civica di Cuneo. Il manoscritto

scritto è acefalo, mancando le prime due carte. Non sappiamo perciò chi sia il traduttore, anche se è possibile arguire da certi suoi francesismi, che era di madre lingua francese.

Claudio Sensi, filologo e guida di Terra Santa, ha avuto la curiosità professionale di percorrere il manoscritto. Attraverso la ricerca ha riscontrato che poche pagine dell'opera originale, precisamente tre Sacre Stazioni della Via dolorosa, erano stampate in italiano nel secolo XIX (p. xvi). Perché allora non fare l'edizione del compendio italiano? Sensi consulta il suo maestro Marziano Guglielminetti che lo incoraggia a pubblicare il *Viaggio*, a condizione di commentarlo come si deve (pp. v-vi).

Il *Viaggio in Terra Santa* del MS anonimo è composto di quattro Libri, suddivisi ciascuno in capitoli. Il Libro primo non ha titolo. Gli altri tre lo hanno. Il Libro secondo è intitolato *Dei luoghi santi di Gerusalemme e suoi contorni*. Il Libro terzo ha un lungo titolo: *Viaggi di Betlemme, delle montagne di Giudea, del deserto del Battista, di Emmaus, del fiume Giordano, del Mar Morto, del deserto di Nostro Signore e ritorno dell'Autore nella Cristianità per la Galilea, Fenicia, Soria e Monte Libano*. Il Libro quarto si intitola *Descrizione dei costumi e degli umori stravaganti sì in materia di religione che di civile conversazione, delle nazioni orientali*. Forse il titolo che manca al Libro primo è quello di carattere globale assegnato al primo capitolo dello stesso Libro, cioè *Vantaggi del viaggiare in paesi stranieri*. Lo suggerisce la constatazione che quel capitolo iniziale di sole tre pagine contiene consigli validi per chiunque esca dai confini del paese nativo. "Impari il viaggiatore la pazienza. Ben gli conviene il praticarla, se raddoppiarsi non vuole a suo danno le angosce che incontrerà sovente" (p. 4). Infatti l'A. ricorda rischiose avventure vissute lungo il *Viaggio*. Il Libro primo narra lo sbarco ad Alessandria, il trasferimento da Alessandria al Cairo, l'incontro con il Nilo, il soggiorno nella capitale e la traversata del deserto fino a Gaza. Il capitolo IX del Libro I, che si intitola *Pericolo dell'A. nel castello del Gran Cairo*, racconta un grave rischio corso in Egitto. Un certo Mustafà conduce i pellegrini a visitare il grande pozzo di Saladino. I soldati dello Aga, luogotenente del Pascià, li imprigionano. Lo Aga condanna guida e visitatori a terribili battiture sulla pianta dei piedi. Meno male che all'ultimo un amico del Pascià interviene a favore degli stranieri, salvando guida e compagni dal minacciato supplizio. Il capitolo VIII del Libro terzo, *Racconto di un gran pericolo in cui furono i padri francescani del convento di Gerusalemme in occasione di due pellegrini gentiluomini alamanni*. Il colpevole è un veneziano che si atteggia a guida, ma propone ai frati di collaborare con lui per alleggerire i due tedeschi di molti zecchini d'oro. Alla fine del Libro terzo, nel capitolo XV, intitolato *L'Autore racconta la malattia onde fu affetto alla fine del viaggio*, leggiamo: "I viaggi miei erratici ... fuori della Francia che vicino a tre anni durarono ... vennero terminati da una malattia lunga e tediosa, procedente dagli eccessivi travagli di corpo e di spirito ... per lo spazio di ben sette anni" (p. 413). In compenso il protagonista ha vissuto un'esperienza spirituale indimenticabile. Il titolo del secondo capitolo, *Dialogo pietoso tra lo spirito dell'Autore pellegrino e la Santa Gerusalemme*, allude al dialogo sacro tra due protagonisti, il pellegrino e la

Città Santa (pp. 62-70). In genere l'A. è ignorante e severo nei confronti del padrone di casa in Terra Santa, cioè dell'impero ottomano e di riflesso dell'Islam. Basterebbe a dimostrarlo il titolo del X capitolo del Libro quarto, *Dell'abominevole legge di Maometto divisa in quattro sette, dei Turchi, degli Arabi, dei Mori, dei Persiani e degli Indiani*. Ci sono tuttavia lampi improvvisi e insperati di luci abbaglianti, come nel capitolo XIV del Libro secondo, *Esposizione dell'occasione con cui l'Autore entrò dentro questo tempio di Salomone*. Il Mufti è malato e chiede la visita di un religioso francescano, noto per la pratica medica. L'Autore si offre di accompagnare il confratello medico nella visita al Mufti. E i due frati entrano, con il permesso del Mufti, nel tempio vietato, sotto pena di morte, ai non musulmani. Anche a proposito dei Cristiani Orientali l'A. ha qualche ignoranza. Confonde addirittura, nel capitolo sesto del Libro quarto, Nestoriani e Giacobiti. Classifica i Cristiani Orientali quali *Nationes Christianorum*, lo stesso termine che la studiosa A.-D. von den Brinken aveva dato al suo eccellente libro *Die "Nationes Christianorum Orientalium" im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie* (Böhlau, Köln-Wien 1973). Le Chiese Orientali nel *dar al-islām*, cioè sotto autorità islamica, erano chiamate, nel Medioevo latino, *Nationes Christianorum*. Nel Seicento, epoca ottomana, dovrebbero piuttosto chiamarsi ciascuna *millet*. Per Boucher queste *Nationes Christianorum* sono otto. Il titolo del Capitolo I del Libro quarto denomina la prima nazione: *I Francescani nomati in Italia Minori Osservanti ed in francese Cordeliers, formano la prima delle otto nazioni cristiane in Oriente, ed hanno la custodia dei Luoghi Santi di Gerusalemme e di Betlemme, a nome di tutta la Chiesa Latina* (p. 419). La seconda nazione è *Dei Maroniti abitatori del Libano* (p. 424). *I Greci scismatici formano la terza nazione cristiana del Levante* (p. 430). La quarta, *Dei Giorgiani* (p. 437). La quinta, *Degli Armeni* (p. 440). La sesta, *Dei Nestoriani o sia Giacobiti [sic!]* (p. 445). La settima, *I Cofiti scismatici* (p. 449). *Ottava e ultima Nazione dei Cristiani Orientali Gli Etiopi o sia Abissini* (p. 456). In questo elenco soltanto i Maroniti sono cattolici. L'opera del Boucher uscita nel 1614 precedeva la nascita della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide creata nel 1622 e destinata a promuovere l'apostolato al di fuori della cattolicità. La scoperta dell'America, la Riforma, il Concilio di Trento e il papa Gregorio XIII avevano suscitato l'interesse per chi non praticava il rito latino. Ma si sarebbe atteso ancora a lungo, anche dopo la creazione, nel 1862 all'interno di Propaganda Fide, di una sezione orientale, per arrivare al 1917 alla nuova Congregazione autonoma per tutte le Chiese di Oriente. Era già molto che un cattolico coltivasse uno spirito pre-ecumenico verso i cristiani Orientali, come manifesta il Boucher in una sua pagina. "Quando io avea finito l'uffizio, me ne andava a meditare e far orazione al monte Calvario, al di cui piede vi ha il Coro de' Greci, nel quale eravi un Greco fra gli altri che cantava una buona parte dell'uffizio a solo, perché avea la più bella voce, la più dolce e la più chiara che mai; ed io confesso francamente che mai voce umana, né armonia d'istromenti musicali cotanto mi rapì fuori di me stesso, quanto i dolci accenti della voce di questo Greco, il quale era un religioso dell'Ordine di S. Basilio [...]. Ma quando l'orecchio mio il suono ricevea e i dolci accenti di questa voce greca, che in can-

tando inni e cantici sagri nulla sapea di lascivo, nulla di voluttuoso ma tutta santa era ed angelica; si fuori di me sentivami rapire e trasportare, non so da quali divine considerazioni, che le lagrime rattener io non sapea agli occhi miei, né al cuor mio i sospiri" (pp. 184-185). Vorrei accennare anche al diffuso commento di Claudio Sensi. Se ho lodato la scelta del testo che a distanza di secoli merita un'edizione, pur trattandosi di testo né integro né in lingua originale, sono del parere che il Curatore abbia vinto la sfida di Marziano Guglielminetti elaborando un "commento come si deve". Ne risulta un'enciclopedia di viaggi in Terra Santa nel cui contesto questa opera è inserita. Sensi ha attinto a trentasei resoconti di pellegrinaggi compiuti fra il 1330 e il 1652 e a otto trattati sulla Terra Santa redatti fra il 1220 e il 1744. Il continuo paragone di argomenti del compendio italiano con la relazione o il giudizio di predecessori, o successori non troppo tardivi, che hanno visitato gli stessi luoghi o gli stessi edifici, aiuta a capire ancor meglio il testo e a correggere eventuali errori. Non posso attardarmi in questa sede. Mi accontento di citarne un paio di esempi. Il primo riguarda il coccodrillo nilotico e ipotizza una certa somiglianza con il testo di un precedente viaggiatore. Il *Viaggio* dice in proposito: "La natura lo provvede di quattro piccole gambe squammate, come tutto il restante del corpo, e di una finissima astuzia. Quando vuole divorare qualche uomo [...] si nasconde sopra le rive del Nilo, e poi mettesi a piangere con voce finta come di un fanciullino, e quando vede l'uomo a sé vicino, gli salta addosso e l'uccide" (pp. 32s). Il commento confronta queste parole con quelle di Greffin Affagart che ha compiuto il suo pellegrinaggio negli anni 1533-1534: "Quant il a faim il faict une voix humaine, plorant comme ung petit enfant sur le long du Nylle et s'il vient quelques gens ou bestes à sa voix, il fainct avoir peur et s'en fuyt en un certain lieu où les crocodiles l'attendent ... alors se assemblent et circuist de tous coustéz, en ceste faczon, prennent leur proye, gens ou bestes" (p. 33 n. 77). Un altro esempio riguarda un termine ecclesiastico usato dagli Etiopi. Il *Viaggio* afferma che il superiore ecclesiastico degli Etiopi è chiamato *Abana* (p. 457). Sensi cita due testi d'altri autori per correggere quella fallace traslitterazione. Il primo è in francese, di Villamont: "Leur chef et premier Evesque ... s'appelle *Abuna*, comme qui diroit en notre langue, nostre père" (p. 457 n. 901). Il secondo è di Jan Kootwyk o Cotovicus che ha viaggiato nel 1598 e ha scritto in latino: "Abissinorum Primas *Abuna* nomine" (*ibidem*). In questo lavoro il Curatore si è servito egregiamente della sua competenza filologica riportando parole in ebraico, in arabo, in greco, in latino, ecc. con precisa traslitterazione e con esatto significato dei termini. Vedo che ringrazia della competente collaborazione il "dominus linguarum e semitista eccelso" Fabrizio Pennacchietti (p. LXXXI). Non posso che congratularmi di questo *Viaggio* e del suo commento, corredato pure delle riproduzioni di stampe dei secoli XVI e XVII e di un particolare della carta di Madaba. A mio parere manca soltanto un indice generale con i titoli completi di tutti i singoli capitoli dei quattro Libri e con il numero della loro prima pagina. Tanto più che nelle testatine di ogni pagina non c'è alcuna indicazione di che Libro e di che capitolo si tratti.

CIANCAGLINI, Claudia A., *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac* [Beiträge zur Iranistik, Band 28], Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2008, pp. 315, € 68.00.

In her previous works, the author, a scholar in Iranian studies and Linguistics, had already focused on language contact in the ancient and late-ancient world, with particular interest in the relations between Iranian and classical languages, Syriac and Greek, and Middle Iranian and Syriac. Due to the overall novelty of its conception and to the wealth of data that is analyzed, however, the present work has to be regarded as autonomous with respect to her previous contributions.

The book goes deeply into the study of the Syriac lexicon of Iranian origin, i.e. direct and indirect Iranian loanwords in Syriac (onomastics is not taken into account): the sample includes Old Persian borrowings in Official Aramaic which are also continued in Syriac (as in other Semitic languages); Middle and New Iranian borrowings in Syriac; Greek, Latin and Arabic loanwords borrowed in Official Aramaic or Syriac through an Iranian language; Middle and New Iranian loanwords borrowed in Syriac through Greek, Latin or Arabic. Although the sample is mainly based on lexicographical sources (K. Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum* and R. Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*), it is not restricted to lexical borrowings, but also includes phraseology, calques and popular etymologies. Valuable remarks are further made concerning morphological borrowings. The theoretical apparatus is reliable and up to date, and it could be profitably used not only by Semitists and Iranists, but by every scholar interested in language contact and sociolinguistics.

The preface is devoted to a short bibliographical survey of Iranian borrowings in Syriac (pp. IX-XII); there follows an index of symbols, a list of the quoted Syriac texts, and a table of abbreviations (pp. XIII-XXII). The bibliography closes the introductory section (pp. XXII-XLVII). The main part of the book is in three chapters: a historical-linguistic survey of Syriac language and literature (pp. 1-94); loanwords (pp. 95-268); the word index (269-315).

After a short introduction, the author defines Syriac as a language in contact: interference between Greek and Syriac are analyzed in the first place (pp. 6-10), then those between Official Aramaic and Old Persian, Middle Iranian and Syriac, and lastly those between New Iranian and Syriac (pp. 11-62). With respect to Old and Middle Persian, not only lexical but also morphological (or morpho-syntactical) borrowings are examined: for instance the ergative encoding of the perfect of transitive (and sometime intransitive) verbs in East Aramaic with the *qṭyl l-* construction, modeled on the Old Persian *manā kartam* (pp. 29-37), and the Syriac denominative verbs in *'bd* "to make, do", calque on the Middle and New Iranian periphrasis with *kardan* "to make, do", *šodan* "to become" etc. (pp. 48-52). Some theoretical remarks on morphological borrowings follow (pp. 52-69). The Syriac phonological system and the Syriac outcome of every single Middle Iranian phoneme or cluster (pp. 62-90) is the subject of the subsequent section. Lastly, the morphological adaptation and re-characterization of

loanwords is analyzed (pp. 90-92); an overview closes the first chapter (pp. 92-94).

The second part details the loanwords (ca. 730 items). For each item in the index, ordered by the Syriac alphabet sequence, the following information is presented: the loanword in Nestorian alphabet, its transliteration, the vocalized transcription (where present in Brockelmann's *Lexicon*), the basic meaning, all possible allotropes, re-borrowings and calques attested in Syriac, the possible derivatives of the loanword, the Iranian word which presumably functioned as a model (with accurate references to the Iranian bibliography), the related words found in other Semitic languages, the occurrences of the loanword in the Syriac corpus, the reference to Brockelmann's *Lexicon*. Personal communications of some of the most renowned Semitic and Iranian scholars are often added (e.g., L. Kogan, Ph. Gignoux, N. Sims-Williams).

The book fills a deep gap in Semitics and general linguistics: "this impressive case of interference between two well-attested corpus, stretching over a period of two millennia, has not been studied by general linguistics interested in language contact phenomena" (p. 11). As a matter of fact, there was no previous lexicon of Iranian loanwords in Syriac, and contributions specifically devoted to this topic were scarce and often rather dated; there are, however, many works on Iranian loanwords in Talmudic Aramaic and in Mandaic, which are systematically cited in this book.

The work's contributions to Iranian studies are outstanding. During the Achaemenid, Parthian and Sasanian domination, until the Arabic conquest and later on, Old and Middle Iranian were dominant languages in large parts of the Near and Middle East. Notwithstanding, these languages have small corpora in relation to their historical role, and these corpora are dialectally fragmented and (especially for Pahlavi) very difficult to read due to considerable script ambiguity. Consequently, parallel traditions conceal essential information sources for Old and Middle Iranian phonology and lexicon. The author is fully aware of the problem: "the main practical result of my study should be the recognition of Iranian lexical items which go back to unattested Middle Iranian models" (p. 24). The exegetic line adopted here (which has already been applied by many Scholars to Iranian loanwords in Greek, Latin and Armenian) allows to reconstruct a great amount of unattested Iranian lexemes (about 29 for Old Persian, 80 for Middle Persian, 5 for Parthian, 2 or 3 for New Persian). Moreover, the Syriac outcome of Middle Iranian phonemes leads to some interesting remarks about the relative chronology of the debated sonorization of O.Ir. \*-aka > M.Ir. \*-ak > MP -ak/-ag, Pah. -ag > Syr. -g/-k/-q (pp. 72-77).

In spite of potential disagreement over one or more particular loanwords (which is obviously always possible, and sometimes useful for scientific progression), the book collects a great amount of data, which is analyzed in deep with philological accuracy and theoretical rigor. Only one potentially confusing misprint was found in the whole amount of data: p. 237 the Pašto lexeme \*\**prāng* instead of *prāng*. In a literature where linguistic theories are often neglected by philologists (especially when interested in ancient languages), and, on the other

hand, philological data on ancient languages are often neglected by theoretical linguists, C. Ciancaglini's book profitably merges new data, philological accuracy and linguistic theory. The author provides critical analysis not only of loanwords, but also of linguistic concepts which are widely debated in contemporary research (i.e. heavy borrowings p. 8, different frequency of nouns and verbs in borrowings p. 9, configuration of dominance criteria, bilingualism and diglossia p. 17, level of integration of loanwords p. 23, casuals p. 25, morphological borrowings, morphemes induction and re-borrowing p. 28).

The book represents a powerful working tool for every scholar working in the field and will be a valuable addition to every library with an interest not only in Syriac, Middle Aramaic and Iranian languages (particularly Old and Middle Iranian), but also in language contact, interference phenomena and the sociology of language.

L. Alfieri

Cragg, Kenneth, *Mosque Sermons. A Listener for the Preacher*, Melisende Publishing Ltd. & Rimal Publications, London / Nicosia 2008, pp. XXII + 240, € 35.00.

È questo uno dei numerosi libri di Kenneth Cragg, vescovo anglicano, arabista e islamologo che, nonostante la ragguardevole età, continua a stimolare prolifiche riflessioni nei suoi lettori. Il titolo non deve essere frainteso. Non si tratta di quarantacinque *ḥutab* o prediche del venerdì nelle moschee. Già il breve *Foreword* sottolinea che *Mosque Sermons*, ha il sottotitolo *A Listener for the Preacher*. Il senso è spiegato alla fine della diffusa *Introduction*: se l'ascoltatore presta accurata attenzione al predicatore, può verificarsi un fruttuoso scambio dei compiti: l'ascoltatore diventa predicatore e questi, a sua volta, ascolta. Ne approfittano ambedue. L'A. crede alla possibilità di un dialogo teologico tra l'Islam e il Cristianesimo e sa impostarlo adeguatamente, grazie alla sua eccellente conoscenza dell'arabo e del Corano. Il dialogo si svolge in 45 suddivisioni chiamate non più *sermons*, ma *discourses*, contrassegnati ciascuno da un numero in successione (D 1.; D 2.; D 3.; ecc.). Ogni *discourse* incomincia quasi sempre con la frase coranica in arabo originale e in compendiosa versione inglese. Delle 114 sure del Corano 33 sono studiate, talvolta soffermandosi su più versetti. D 1: si occupa dei due nomi di Allah, *L'Eccelso* e *Il Saggio*. Appartengono ai 99 bellissimi nomi divini che i musulmani recitano scorrendo fra le dita i grani della *misbah*, simile al rosario. L'A. si occupa di questo tema anche in D 32: dove ammonisce che non basta invocare Allah per ottenerne favori ma bisogna pregarlo, per esempio con la recita litanica dei suoi 99 nomi. D 2: Da Allah a Muhammad. "Non c'è altro Dio che Allah e Muhammad è il suo Apostolo". Con il credo islamico è pure connesso D 3: Nella sura 49,14 Muhammad dissente dai beduini che accettano l'Islam dicendo "Crediamo". Preferisce che dicano "Ci sottomettiamo". Infatti in arabo *Islām* significa sottomettersi del tutto ad Allah. D 4: Eseggesi del



versetto 138 della sura 2, dove il termine arabo *ṣibġa* è tradotto con battesimo, "Di chi è il migliore battesimo se non di Allah?". D 5: Commenta, della stessa sura 2, il versetto 256: "Non c'è costrizione nella religione!" L'A. propone di tradurre, "Non dovrebbe esserci costrizione nella religione". Perché diminuire la portata di questa esclusione incondizionata della violenza? D 6: Ancora nella sura 2, il versetto 230, tratta del califfato, istituito dal Profeta con funzione vicariale. L'A. osserva che in un certo senso, almeno nel sunnismo, dove non esiste clero, ogni musulmano ha funzione vicaria. Infatti, secondo il Corano, Allah ordina agli angeli di prostrarsi davanti all'uomo. D 7: Sul significato plurimo del coranico *la'alla* ("forse", "possibilmente") che modifica il senso del termine cui si applica, (intelletto, guida, conoscenza, prosperità e prossimità del traguardo finale della propria vita). Il seguente D 8: studia la valenza coranica del *cercare rifugio in Allah*. D 9: assicura che mai Allah si prende gioco della creazione. D 10: *al-furqan* (prova apodittica che separa verità da errore) è il Corano. Ma *al-furqan* è pure spartiacque della storia primitiva dell'Islam, quando il Profeta vince a Badr dove fede e potere politico si identificano. D 11: Sulla pazienza di Allah nei confronti dell'incredulità. D 12: Allah mantiene le sue promesse, come insegna la sura 12, sulla vicenda di Giuseppe Ebreo. D 13: L'A. ritiene che il rilievo dato dal Cristianesimo alla penitenza dipenda dalla fede cristiana che crede nella passione e morte redentiva di Cristo. Mentre nella sura 4, 157 il Corano nega che Gesù sia morto sulla croce. Gli Ebrei si sarebbero illusi di averne provocata la morte. D 31: Cragg fa appello al libro *Città iniqua* del medico musulmano Muhammad Kamil Hussayn il quale, senza contraddire il Corano, attribuisce la morte apparente di Gesù, al docetismo. Tale eresia cristiana riconosce a Cristo la natura divina, ma ritiene la sua natura umana soltanto una parvenza. D 14: Studia il mancato rispetto ad Allah in 3 passi coranici di 3 sure diverse, 6,91; 22, 74 e 39, 67. D 15: I Quraysiti per accettare la fede devono abbandonare le divinità della Giahiliya. D 16: Ammonisce che la fede in Allah richiede gratitudine, mentre la miscredenza dimentica i suoi doni. D 17: Distingue i tre significati della *fitna*: persecuzione meccana, rifiuto persistente di credere in Allah, sedizione interna. D 18: Il Corano permette al credente quattro mogli. Tuttavia non ammette che lo sposo abbia più cuori. E ammonisce in 4,3: "Se non sei imparziale nei riguardi di più mogli, abbine una sola". D 19: Il divorzio è ammesso, ma "Se hai fatto un patto solenne con la tua sposa, come puoi rinnegare la perennità del vincolo? (4, 21)." Nel Corano il matrimonio ha un valore "sacramentale" anche nel caso che non arrivino figli (p. 93). D 20: Terra, acqua e fuoco. Sono elementi creati con i quali Allah conserva un rapporto positivo. Il Corano non è antiecológico e il minerale di ferro viene dal cielo. D 21: Continua a riflettere su Allah creatore. Nella sura 37, il versetto 96 deve leggersi così: Dio ha creato, non solo voi, ma anche le stesse opere vostre. E l'A. distingue chiaramente questa continuità creativa di Allah dal predeterminismo fatalista di cui alcuni accusano l'Islam. Il Corano esclude che il credente adori le opere che ha compiute grazie all'aiuto creativo divino. D 22: Il volto di Allah appare sette volte nel Corano. È un'espressione semitica usata spesso nell'Antico Testamento e più raramente nel Nuovo.

Nella storia del sufismo molti desiderano vedere il volto di Dio (p. 109). D 23: Il volto richiama all'A. il problema dei volti di donna nascosti dietro *burqah* o *niqab*. Siccome il Corano non ne parla, non è la fede che impedisce alla donna di mostrare il suo volto, ma è piuttosto la cultura. Come mai la fede non redime la cultura, liberando la donna da questa discriminazione? Del resto, come può la donna volgersi verso la moschea, come richiede 2, 44, se il suo volto è nascosto? D 24: Continua a trattare del volto di Allah, riconoscendo che l'adorazione e il timore riverenziale possono indirizzarsi soltanto a Lui. D 25: Il Messia ha riconosciuto la sovranità di Dio come esige la sura 4,172. "Annientò se stesso prendendo forma di schiavo" (Fil 2,6). "Sebbene fosse figlio, imparò tuttavia l'obbedienza dalle cose che patì" (Ebr 5,8). D 26: A proposito dell'idea massignoniana che la figura biblica di Abramo colleghi Ebraismo, Cristianesimo e Islam, l'A. ne dubita. L'Abramo dell'Antico e del Nuovo Testamento è diverso dallo *hanif* iconoclasta del Corano. D 27: Nelle sure 6, 17, 35 e 53 il Corano afferma che ciascuno soffre le conseguenze della propria responsabilità. Pure la Bibbia lo proclama. Il Corano riconosce inoltre, come già si è visto, un vicariato caritativo di ogni fedele a vantaggio dell'altro, simile a quello descritto nella parabola evangelica del buon samaritano il quale prende su di sé parte della sventura di cui l'altro è vittima. D 28: L'ateismo vede a torto nell'Islam soltanto vendetta, violenza, fame di potere e odio. Chi è senza peccato scagli la prima pietra! Anche i cristiani hanno colpe da farsi perdonare. Se da una parte non si possono conciliare i musulmani suicidi con il Corano, dall'altra la guerra del Golfo e la guerra in Iraq non sono affatto compatibili con le Beatitudini evangeliche. D 29: Gesù rifiuta vendetta e rappresaglia porgendo l'altra guancia (Mt 5.38-40). Il Corano 5, 45 insegna, "Se uno, magnanimente, omette di vendicarsi espia su di sé la colpa altrui" e 41, 4-36, "Non sono certo uguali il male e il bene. Rispondi al male con qualcosa di migliore. Chi ti è nemico diverrà tuo amico". Nel Nuovo Testamento, "Non lasciarti vincere dal male ma vinci il male con il bene" (Rom 12,21). Secondo la sura 5,32 "Chi uccide un uomo è come uccidesse tutti gli uomini. E chi salva una vita umana, è come salvasse la vita di tutti gli uomini" (p. 144). D 30: A proposito della calligrafia araba, l'A. cita 31, 27. "Anche se tutti gli alberi della terra divenissero calami e il mare con altri sette mari [fossero d'inchiostro] non si potrebbero esaurire tutte le parole di Allah". Questo passo coranico ricorda la conclusione del Vangelo di Giovanni: "Vi sono ancora molte altre cose compiute da Gesù che, se fossero scritte una per una, penso che il mondo stesso non basterebbe a contenere i libri che si dovrebbero scrivere". D 31: cf. D 13. D 32: cf. D 1. D 33: Allah non poteva non rivelarsi agli uomini (4, 165). L'uomo non può argomentare con Allah dopo che ha mandato i suoi apostoli. Allah è onnipotente e onnisciente. L'A. non dimentica l'attualità. Oggi la terra che il Messia ha santificato è in balia del messianismo sionista al quale a suo tempo la potenza della Gran Bretagna ha aperto le porte. Quel messianismo ha avuto dei successi, ma anche dei fallimenti, di cui è prova l'odierno muro. D 34: Trattando del pellegrinaggio islamico l'A. lo considera simbolo della vita terrena che sbocca nell'altra vita. A questo proposito ritorna sul fenomeno dei ka-

mikaze suicidi di cui ha già scritto in D 28 e D 29. Si pone la domanda: Se ogni musulmano di sesso maschile è tenuto a compiere in vita il suo pellegrinaggio, chi si sacrifica morendo suicida per provocare stragi non viola forse tragicamente questo pilastro della sua religione? D 35: Il Corano ha espressioni univoche e altre metaforiche. C'è il rischio di interpretare in maniera errata le metafore, perché solo Allah ne conosce il significato. L'A. racconta di un musulmano scandalizzato dalla metafora del salmo 23, "il Signore è il mio pastore". D 36: Circa i titoli delle sure l'A. ne cita alcuni che provengono da fenomeni naturali, la luna, l'aurora, la terra. Altri alludono a guerre e vittorie. Il nome del Profeta appare 4 volte nel Corano. Una sola volta è titolo di sura, la 47. La sura 17 si intitola "Viaggio notturno" in memoria di un miracoloso spostamento del Profeta dalla santa moschea alla moschea remota di Gerusalemme. D 37: La sura 24, 35-37 è un inno ad Allah, "luce dei cieli e della terra. La sua luce è come quella di una nicchia in cui si trova una lampada ... di cristallo... Il suo combustibile viene da un albero benedetto, un olivo né orientale né occidentale, il cui olio sembra illuminare senza neppure essere toccato dal fuoco". Molti musulmani hanno chiesto e chiedono di essere illuminati da questa luce. D 38: La sura 5, 112-115, detta "della mensa", menziona il decalogo proclamato sul Sinai, la manna caduta dal cielo e l'Eucaristia. Quanto a questa ultima menzione, gli apostoli secondo il Corano chiedono a Gesù l'Eucaristia, mentre il Vangelo dà l'iniziativa a Gesù. D 39: È simile a D 27: Ciascuno è responsabile soltanto delle proprie colpe. Afferma poi categoricamente che i 99 nomi di Allah, di cui già si è trattato, appartengono esclusivamente ad Allah. Noi rischiamo col nostro egoismo di essere nemici di noi stessi. Solo l'amore e la compassione ci fanno uscire dall'isolamento attraverso una sana socievolezza.

D 40: Ancora sul terrorismo. L'integralista islamico suicida che si dà volontariamente la morte in funzione dell'eccidio più grande nel tempo più breve, rinnega in un momento il valore della vita propria e altrui. Noi cristiani dobbiamo però guardarci dal provocare in qualche modo una simile folle reazione. Quante volte nella storia i cristiani hanno ignorato e combattuto i musulmani senza riconoscere le proprie colpe nei loro confronti! Confessando la nostra colpevolezza dobbiamo chiederne perdono. D 41: Allah legge nell'intimo del cuore umano. "Non ti abbiamo forse aperto il petto?" 91,1. "L'uomo, cui Allah apre il cuore all'Islām, questi possiede una luce che proviene dal suo Signore" (39,22). E si rivisita come in D 3 il senso di abbandono ad Allah della parola Islām.

D 42: *Ihtilāfāt* o divergenze coraniche. Se c'è opposizione fra *tawhīd* e *jāhiliya*, ci sono pure controversie con gli ebrei sul giorno escatologico in cui Allah li giudicherà, sul sabato e sulle loro ricchezze delle quali non si servirono per soccorrere i fuggiaschi dalla Mecca. Il Corano non nasconde il suo atteggiamento verso Yahūd, *muṣriqūn* e *naṣārā*, tuttavia i rapporti dell'Islam con i *naṣārā* sono migliori di quelli con Ebrei e *muṣriqūn*. Gli Ebrei attribuiscono ai Cristiani la convinzione che Gesù sia adottato da Dio Padre. Il Corano invece lo considera figlio di Maria, e *māsiḥ* cioè unto da Dio. Mentre i cristiani ritengono Gesù figlio unigenito del Padre che nell'Incarnazione si è fatto uomo.

D 43: I due significati del termine *maşir*, 1) la vita come diritta via, *şiraṭ al-mustaḳīm* cioè viaggio con felice traguardo finale; altrimenti, viaggio con terminale di condanna.

D 44: continuazione del D precedente. Termine della vita è il Giardino o il Fuoco, cioè il Paradiso o l'Inferno. Soffermandosi sul finale negativo l'A. ricorda cosa ne dicano le sure 4; 24; 25; 64 e 67. Quindi riporta saggiamente il giudizio che il noto studioso islamico Fazlur Rahman dà dell'Inferno coranico. "C'è l'effetto di un fuoco psico-fisico, senza essere alla lettera un fuoco... Si può solo parlare di ... fallimento ... o di fuoco permanenti". E l'A. conclude che si deve lasciare l'ultimo giudizio ad Allah. Non si tratta di una sua sconfitta. Ma solo in lui si prepara il nostro futuro.

D 45: Questo finale *Discourse* si rivolge direttamente al *Listener* musulmano. Il vostro Corano è vivo quanto alla natura, alla società, alla religione e alla morte. Il suo ambito è aperto e suscita riconoscimenti. La natura è accolta nel santuario di Allah attraverso la conoscenza della creazione. Il tempio del Signore è rifugio anche dello straniero. La società umana, non meno della natura, è il mondo creato da Allah abitato dagli uomini che lo cercano. Nel Corano non c'è il termine "coscienza" ma la domanda di perdono lo attraversa. Natura, società e religione si confrontano con la morte. La certezza di morire non porta forse ad offrire se stessi totalmente ad Allah? Il fedele musulmano può guardare al Corano in queste prospettive. Non potrebbe rileggerlo in base agli spazi e ai tempi che cambiano?

Nel Postscriptum l'A. aggiunge di aver insistito sulla teologia perché può portare a un rapporto pacifico e a un mutuo arricchimento. Non disperiamo dello spirito di Dio.

Mi auguro che molti leggano quest'opera di un veterano ricco di competenza e di saggezza. Il suo lavoro apre vasti orizzonti di speranza e di pace. Ci affratella con una notevole parte dell'umanità che ispira la sua preghiera e la sua vita al Corano.

V. Poggi, S.I.

GETCHA, Job, *Le Typikon décrypté. Manuel de liturgie byzantine* [Liturgie 18], Éditions du Cerf, Paris 2009, pp. 348, € 35,00.

In his new book, *Le Typikon décrypté. Manuel de liturgie byzantine*, Archimandrite Job Getcha presents an analysis of the Byzantine Typikon. Analogous to the Roman Ordo, the Typikon regulates the propers of the Byzantine liturgy. As the cycles of Sunday, weekday, lenten, paschal, and sanctoral celebrations filled out, there was a need to determine how to combine these cycles. This is the function of the Typikon, called "oko tserkovnoje" by the Russians, "the eye of the Church." From the very introduction, the author makes it clear that the book originated from his lectures at the Institut Saint-Serge in Paris.

The book has a mysterious title. What exactly are we to understand by "d crypt " ("decrypted")? The Byzantine liturgical Typikons are not really some sort of puzzle that needs to be deciphered. They are simply an instruction manual, rather like a ritual cookbook. Anybody who has ever been involved with Byzantine liturgy understands the necessity. For instance, when on a particular day the Menaion offers one possible doxastikon for the vesper stichera, the Octoechos offers a second, and the Triodion suggests a third, a choice has to be made. This is the guidance that the Typikon gives.

In the introduction, the author tells us that he does not intend to write a history of the Typikon, but rather a practical guide on its use. So, instead of a history, the book offers an analytical presentation in five chapters. First, the liturgical books are presented and then the offices of the liturgy of the hours. The final three chapters present a) the fixed feasts of the Menaion; b) the movable cycle of pre-Lenten, Lenten, and Holy Week celebrations of the Triodion, and c) Paschal services through the first Sunday after Pentecost found in the Pentecostarion. Despite not being a systematic history of the Typikon, most of Archimandrite Job's explanations are historical.

The first chapter, like many other sections of the book, goes far beyond explaining the Typikon. The author goes into great detail to explain the present-day liturgical Psalter (and its predecessors), the Horologion, the Octoechos, the twelve-volume Menaia, the Triodion, the Pentecostarion, the Typikon, the Euchologion, the Hieratikon, the Apostle and the Gospel. These are the basic books of the Byzantine liturgy. Much of this presentation has very little to do with the instructions of the Typikon. Here the book follows more the second half of the title — "*Manuel de liturgie byzantine*." The discussion here of the Horologion, the Triodion, and the Pentecostarion are superfluous since chapter 2 discusses the Horologion fully, and chapters 4 and 5 explain the offices in the Triodion and the Pentecostarion. In a classroom presentation, presenting all the liturgical books at one time likely was the proper move. In a book, making first a brief, superficial presentation and then a more thorough one seems pointless.

However, the discussion of the lectionaries (the Apostle and the Gospel) is particularly thorough and complete (pp. 60-75). It explains in detail the historical development of the different cycles of the lectionary, a) Sundays and feasts, b) Saturdays, and c) weekdays, and then their combination. The treatment of the "Lucan jump" in September, a point of contention not entirely resolved in present-day practice, is very clear and quite helpful.

The second chapter explains the ordinary celebration of the liturgy of the hours, that is to say, the celebrations in the Horologion. Once again, much of this is not really about the Typikon and its instructions for using the various options available. We simply have a precise description of how the various services of the liturgy of the hours are customarily carried out. At times, one wonders whether the book really needs a step-by-step description of vespers, for instance, which can be easily observed at Byzantine Orthodox and Catholic churches the world over and is described fairly accurately in the rubrics of the service books.

Although the way in which one celebrates the Divine Liturgy is very much a part of the Typikon, Archimandrite Job deals with eucharistic celebrations relatively little. There are no detailed descriptions of the ordinary Divine Liturgy, such as we find for the various other services. The book seems to suppose that the reader is familiar with the Divine Liturgy.

Chapter 3 presents the various modifications of the basic structures of the liturgy of the hours used for celebrations of the fixed feasts on the calendar. He analyzes first the forms of vespers used for different degrees of feasts, as opposed to daily vespers. Then the author explains matins and its forms. The middle section of the chapter, pages 119-130, constitute an interesting analysis of the various forms of vigil services in use at present and some of their history. The painstaking discussion of how various fixed celebrations are combined with Saturday and Sunday services strangely provides no notes on the historical evolution of these structures. The opening explanation of the origin of the Christmas is a bit outdated, but the description of the liturgies of Christmas and Theophany is very detailed, with many historical notes on their evolution.

Chapters 4 (pp. 157-260) and 5 (pp. 261-318) are the longest and most complex in the book. In these chapters we have a very thorough discussion of the pre-lenten, lenten, Holy Week, Easter, paschal season, Ascension, Pentecost, and Pentecost octave services. As the research on the history of this section of the liturgical year is extensive, Archimandrite Job has a great deal of historical material to draw on. After describing a number of the lenten liturgical offices (matins, vespers, the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, etc.) generically, he analyzes specific celebrations beginning with the Saturday of St. Theodore Tyron and the Sunday of Orthodoxy. Each of these discussions is divided into "Origine" and "Déroulement." Each of the offices of Holy Week are described in great detail, together with some historical notes, but without the two-part structure in the earlier part of the chapter. Like the first part of chapter 4, Chapter 5 on the liturgical celebrations of the Pentecostarion also has a general description of the paschal season offices. Then there follows an analysis all the specific celebrations with the "Origine"/"Déroulement" structure.

The book has a very good vocabulary of liturgical terms in use in the modern liturgy. This glossary provides not only the French terms, but also the Greek and Slavonic equivalents. Particularly for a reader not involved in the Byzantine liturgy, this list is very helpful.

The bibliography is heavily dependent on French and Russian authors. The predominance of French and Russian authors is even more notable in the footnotes, where materials in German or English appear seldom. The modern Greek scholar Ioannis Fountoulis is cited in Russian and French versions, while his articles in Greek on these topics are not cited. One wishes that the author had consulted Taft's "The Byzantine Office in the *Prayerbook* of New Skete: Evaluation of a Proposed Reform." (in OCP 48 [1982] 336-70). It includes a substantial bibliography on the Byzantine liturgy of the hours, which would have expanded this book's bibliography beyond French and Russian materials.

His discussions of how certain offices are executed on Mt. Athos are an interesting addition. It is particularly intriguing that the Athonite monasteries at times don't follow their own liturgical Typikons.

Archimandrite Job makes reference to Italo-Greek texts (pp. 24, 35, 53-54), but doesn't refer to these texts as components of a distinct branch of the Byzantine liturgical tradition.

At times the author seems to lose sight of what he has already written elsewhere. On pp. 56-57 in chapter 1, he discusses the presbyteral prayers read during the hexapsalm. Then, once again in chapter 2 the same material is presented on pp. 84-85 with the same references to the same scholarly sources. On the subject of the origin of the *Polyeleos* at matins, one finds a similar repetition on pages 117 and 164.

At times the author cites attributions, such as that the *exapostilaria* were composed by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos or that the *eothina* were written by Emperor Leo VI the Wise (p. 32), without clarifying how reliable such assertions are. On pages 117-118 he cites several contrasting theories about the origin of components of matins, but offers no evaluation of the theories in the end.

In general this book seems to find itself midway between being the class materials for an introductory course and being a serious scholarly book. It offers just enough history to raise our interest, but not enough to offer definitive solutions to the major questions. The overwhelming reliance on French and Russian sources makes it clear that it is designed for an audience from Slavic church traditions living in a French-speaking country. As a purely practical manual, one wonders whether the average person really needs this much detailed description. In most cases, people simply plunge in, observe, and learn as they go. With regard to the historical material, the book provides bits and pieces of the development of the liturgy here and there, but they often are disjointed and one doesn't see how the whole liturgical tradition comes together.

However, the book's most serious weakness is the lack of an index. If one doesn't remember exactly where one read something, it can be nearly impossible to find afterward, even for someone who has read every word. And if a casual inquirer wants to find what Archimandrite Job has to say about Georgian liturgical materials, then he or she had best write the author. The book itself offers no help in finding such things. The various chapters of the book cover vast periods of time and geography. The author frequently enters into asides not directly part of the immediate topic being discussed. Locating any of these excursi is quite difficult. The meager two-page table of contents offers practically no guidance. It is difficult to understand how a scholar of Job Getcha's standing or a publisher such as Éditions du Cerf didn't realize the importance of having an extensive index, listing all names, places, and topics. It would have made the volume far more useful to anyone interested.

GIANOTTO, Claudio – Enrico NORELLI – Mauro PESCE, *L'enigma Gesù. Fonti e metodi della ricerca storica*, a cura di E. Prinzivalli [Biblioteca di testi e studi 457], Carocci, Roma 2008, pp. 127, € 12,00.

Sotto il drammatico titolo "L'enigma Gesù" il testo curato da E. Prinzivalli, dopo una breve ed equilibrata introduzione della curatrice, presenta i tre interventi, opportunamente adattati per la stampa, tenuti dagli autori nell'ambito di una nuova iniziativa culturale del Dipartimento di Studi storico-religiosi dell'Università La Sapienza di Roma. Gli ideatori hanno dato a tale iniziativa e alla serie di pubblicazioni derivate il titolo, allettante e un po' misterioso, di *Neg/Otia nostra*, intendendo trattare, in modo piacevole e il più possibile comprensibile, tematiche religiose contemporanee per un lettore colto e interessato anche se non addetto ai lavori. Il testo che qui discutiamo, che è il primo di tale serie, deriva da una tavola rotonda dal titolo *Gesù storico: un enigma?*

Nella breve introduzione (pp. 7-18) Emanuela Prinzivalli, ordinario di Storia del cristianesimo e delle chiese alla Sapienza di Roma, presenta i tre colleghi, il tema dei loro interventi e il loro coordinamento. Anticipiamo in proposito che il tono di questa introduzione è più pacato degli interventi che seguono, soprattutto di quelli di Norelli e di Pesce. Notiamo solo che è vero che "per taluni" il divieto di ripudio della moglie formulato da Gesù "non è del tutto originale (a Qumran c'era lo stesso divieto)" (p. 17), ma che questi si sbagliano, dato che il passo CD IV,19-V,9 si riferisce con ogni probabilità ad una condanna della poligamia (cf. le prove nel mio studio *Parole di Gesù sul divorzio*, Brescia 1982, 159-167).

La prima relazione "Considerazioni di metodo sull'uso delle fonti per la ricostruzione della figura storica di Gesù" (pp. 19-67) è di Enrico Norelli, ordinario di Storia del cristianesimo delle origini a Ginevra. In apertura egli dichiara di dividere la sua esposizione in "due tempi": 1. Considerazioni metodologiche generali sulle fonti relative a Gesù; 2. Alcuni esempi di fonti di solito non prese in considerazione dagli studiosi e che invece dovrebbero esserlo. Praticamente tutta la sua relazione si muove nel senso di discutere, di solito per redarguire o correggere, le opinioni di alcuni noti autori che negli ultimi anni hanno scritto sull'argomento (i più citati sono Dunn e J.P. Meier) oppure concezioni a suo parere assestate e purtuttavia erronee o ambigue. Innanzitutto Norelli fa un'analisi serrata della distinzione tra il "Gesù ricordato" e il "Gesù storico" di Dunn, poi quella tra *historischer Jesus* e *geschichtlicher Jesus* e infine nega che, per lo storico ci sia un solo "Gesù della fede". Si può formulare qualche dubbio che le argomentazioni in punta di fioretto dell'autore possano esser state ben comprese dagli astanti. In buona sostanza Norelli qui e nel resto del suo intervento ribadisce in diversi stili una convinzione che egli da anni sostiene per iscritto e a voce, che cioè per la conoscenza *storica* di Gesù non possano valere altro che la metodologia e le regole che si applicano nei confronti di ogni altro personaggio del passato, cosa che, a suo parere, finora non è stata fatta, ovviamente da teologi ed esegeti. In astratto questo principio è del tutto condivisibile, purché si tenga



conto del carattere molto diverso delle fonti a disposizione. Non è la stessa cosa esaminare criticamente le fonti riguardanti un personaggio politico o un artista, altro è cercare di fare la stessa cosa con fonti relative ad un personaggio squisitamente religioso e cui tali fonti attribuiscono la pretesa di essere *divino*. Ancora, pur non negandolo *expressis verbis*, Norelli non mette sufficientemente in luce il fatto che anche lo storico di professione non sempre è in grado di valutare criticamente i diversi generi letterari in cui si presentano le fonti relative a Gesù. Qualche malinteso deriva dal fatto che alcuni, anzi molti esegeti pretendono di essere degli storici e viceversa tutti gli storici sono convinti di aver lo strumento intellettuale per capire le fonti religiose. Tuttavia si deve esser grati all'agguerrito plotone di storici laici che da qualche decennio pretendono di dire al mondo e quindi anche alle Chiese chi probabilmente è stato e cosa ha detto e fatto Gesù. La cosa fa emergere uno iato, un malinteso che concettualmente è sempre stato presente, ma solo in questi ultimi secoli è diventato più chiaro, tra due scienze, cioè tra la ricerca storica e l'esegesi biblica. In realtà anche gli interventi di Norelli e quello di M. Pesce in qualche maniera portano avanti il malinteso, dato che essi polemizzano praticamente quasi solo con esegeti non con cultori di storia. Il malinteso o meglio la confusione derivano, come spesso succede, dalle premesse, soprattutto da quelle non bene esplicitate. Dato per scontato che la storiografia abbia un suo preciso assetto epistemologico (sebbene il senso di trionfale dominio della materia, anche negli scritti di questo libro, pare a volte eccessivo), va rivendicato il fatto che anche l'esegesi *cattolica* ne ha uno proprio e indipendente da quello della storiografia (come pure da quello dell'esegesi delle altre confessioni). Ben consci che non è qui possibile esplicitare adeguatamente tale assetto logico in modo atto a prevenire tutte le possibili obiezioni, ci limitiamo a poche tracce, rimandando il lettore e, perché no, anche gli autori del presente *pamphlet* ad esempio alla classica esposizione di J. Bocheński (*The Logic of Religion*, New York 1965), tradotta nelle principali lingue europee. Il *primum* logico è la fede del singolo nella affidabilità e veridicità della Chiesa, comunità preesistente attraverso i tempi dalla morte di Gesù fino ad oggi. Questa comunità strutturata e in continuità con l'Israele storico oltre a tante altre modalità espressive, di tra una massa di scritti riguardanti la persona, la vita e la dottrina di Gesù di certo presenti nell'antichità ha di fatto riconosciuto ventisette scritti come adeguati ad esprimere ciò che tale comunità *già crede* in merito a Dio e a Gesù Cristo, tra di essi quattro vangeli (che i nostri autori con tono discutibile definiscono "divenuti poi canonici"). Il motivo di tale riconoscimento è la convinzione che essi, in stretta analogia con gli scritti sacri di Israele (l'AT), siano stati *ispirati* da Dio ai fedeli o alle comunità che li hanno composti: per questo si parla sempre di "canone degli scritti ispirati". Va da sé che l'ispirazione di uno scritto non è qualità appurabile con gli strumenti della storiografia. Dunque non sono i vangeli che per così dire generano la Chiesa, ma al contrario questa genera gli scritti del NT. Perciò l'accusa formulata da Norelli a p. 34 che la Chiesa strapazzi ad esempio questo o quel tratto dei racconti evangelici a scopo di autolegittimazione è in via generale falsa, anche se è possibile che questa o

quella personalità ecclesiastica lo abbia fatto o lo continui a fare (come sedicenti storici falsificano fonti storiche o ne esagerano la portata). Va ricordato che per la Chiesa cattolica la rivelazione storica del piano divino è veicolata "in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus quae ab ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptae ... ad nos usque pervenerunt" (Concilio ecumenico di Trento, sessio IV = DS 1501; cf. anche la *Dei Verbum* 10). È un successo dell'esegesi e della teologia protestante, per cui notoriamente la S. Scrittura è l'unica fonte di rivelazione, aver fatto praticamente dimenticare tali verità e aver portato a pensare che sia la Chiesa che debba giustificarsi di fronte all'esegesi e non viceversa. Un evidente risultato pratico è stato che quando questo o quello scritto considerato dalla tradizione ecclesiastica ispirato "non piace" lo si è eliminato o perlomeno "declassato", come ad esempio ha fatto Lutero per quattro scritti del NT, primo fra tutti la lettera di Giacomo. Di fatto la rilevanza che, come elemento senz'altro oggettivo, anche per lo storico profano la Tradizione ecclesiastica dovrebbe avere, non ha alcun posto nelle considerazioni dei tre autori che qui intervengono. Tirando le fila di queste convinzioni della fede cattolica, dato che per essa "credere" significa aderire con tutta la persona alla Parola di Dio in quanto *vera e sola capace di dare la vita eterna* e dato che un nucleo di storicità soprattutto delle parole e della vita di Gesù ne sono base indispensabile, deriva che, se la storiografia con sicurezza constatasse (cosa che non ci risulta per ora di fatto avvenuta) una contraddizione con tale nucleo indispensabile alla fede cristiana, allora ci troveremmo di fronte ad uno solo dei non pochi casi di contrasto tra le verità della fede e quelle di una disciplina scientifica. In tal caso, come ben precisa il Bocheński nel testo sopra citato, si presentano, ovviamente semplificando, tre possibilità logiche: o la contraddizione è solo apparente (che è il caso più frequente: vedi il caso Galilei) o la "verità" scientifica si rivelerà prima o poi erronea o del tutto sproporzionata oppure significa che la fede era basata su un falso storico e quindi colui che fino ad allora vi aveva aderito ritrae il suo assenso. Il tutto va naturalmente depurato da malintesi linguistici o da superstizioni, di cui faremo qualche esempio parlando dell'intervento di M. Pesce.

Nella terza parte della sua relazione Norelli esemplifica il suo pensiero discutendo una decina di testi apocrifi del II-IV secolo peraltro già ben noti e le altrettanto note opinioni di famosi studiosi come Jeremias, Hennecke-Schneemelcher e Resch. Anche qui, in buona sostanza, egli sfonda porte aperte. Non ci consta che nessun esegeta o teologo abbia mai sostenuto che i vangeli canonici contengano *tutte le parole o tutti i miracoli di Gesù*. Il Vangelo di Giovanni afferma addirittura di averne riportato solo quelli sufficienti "perché crediate che Gesù è il Cristo" (Gv 20,31). Più avanti lo stesso evangelista o un suo discepolo iperbolicamente sostiene che, oltre a ciò che è stato appena esposto, "ci sono molte altre cose compiute da Gesù, che, se fossero scritte una per una, penso che il mondo non basterebbe ad accogliere i libri che li contenessero" (Gv 21,25). Nella quarta parte vengono riportati e discussi esempi tratti dai più noti vangeli apocrifi. Lo stesso relatore ammette spesso la scarsità del materiale e dei risultati sicuri. Notiamo qui che quasi tutte le riflessioni concernenti il nome di Giacomo non ten-

gono conto del fatto che, anche solo nel NT, di personaggi con tale nome ce ne sono almeno cinque e che, contrariamente a ciò che si fa nel testo, normalmente usa tenerli ben distinti. L'ultimo capitoletto porta il significativo titolo "esigenza di cambiare paradigma". Nella sostanza l'autore vi ribadisce ciò che ha già esposto in precedenza. In merito alle ipotesi di ritrovamenti o di novità sulle parole e sui dati della vita di Gesù va ancora una volta ribadito che il motivo profondo dell'insistenza (che veramente c'è stata e sempre ci sarà) sulla "storicità" di Gesù da parte della teologia cattolica è che essa è necessaria alla verità dell'incarnazione, al fatto cioè che la salvezza cristiana deriva dalla condivisione totale del Verbo con la storia umana (*usque ad mortem*), non cioè in un'idea, in una filosofia, in un mito (cf. la critica cattolica alla concezione bultmanniana del puro *Dass*, senza *Was* o *Wie*). Che si possa presentare il significato della vita di Gesù solo con un minimo di particolari storici lo dimostra *ad amussim* l'epistolario paolino. Questo tuttavia non significa che la Chiesa sia disposta a rinunciare alla devozione (liturgica e meditativa) nei confronti delle parole e dei "misteri" della vita di Gesù trasmessi dal NT e dalla Tradizione, solo perché questo o quello storico hanno dei dubbi sulla loro veridicità. Non manca naturalmente al termine una battuta polemica sul testo dell'attuale Papa su Gesù di Nazaret pubblicato nel 2007.

Il secondo intervento, dedicato al vangelo di Tommaso, è di Claudio Giannotto, ordinario di Storia delle origini cristiane all'Università di Torino (pp. 68-93). Esso è un utile strumento per chi si accosta per la prima volta a questo apocrifo molto antico. Se ne descrivono la scoperta, le principali caratteristiche letterarie, le ipotesi sulla sua derivazione culturale e infine l'impatto sulla questione del Gesù storico, limitatamente all'indagine sulle sue parole, dato che tale scritto consta solo di 114 detti di Gesù. Egli espone e discute le idee di Jeremias (per il quale solo due di tali detti possono sperare di essere autentici), le proposte di H. Koester, di Crossan e della DeConick, le tre fasi della ricerca sul Gesù storico con ampie citazioni della *Third Quest* e del discusso *Jesus Seminar*. Nel complesso si tratta di una relazione molto stringata, chiara e precisa; anche le conclusioni ci paiono equilibrate. I chiarimenti sulla fonte Q in nota 20 ripetono quelli già dati in fondo a p. 69.

La terza ed ultima relazione è affidata a Mauro Pesce, ordinario di Storia del cristianesimo all'Università di Bologna, e porta il titolo "Alla ricerca della figura storica di Gesù" (pp. 94-127). Dopo aver esplicitato tre direttive della propria ricerca (estensione dello spettro di analisi ai primi tre secoli; attenzione alle esperienze religiose di Gesù; interpretazione socio-antropologica del movimento di Gesù) Pesce dedica alcune pagine alla descrizione della situazione a suo parere men che mediocre della Chiesa cattolica ufficiale nei confronti della ricerca storica relativa a Gesù e della sostanziale diffidenza della stessa nei confronti dell'esegesi critica. L'ulteriore tema affrontato dovrebbe rispondere all'interrogativo: Perché è necessaria una ricerca storica su Gesù? Si tratta in realtà di un elenco di deficienze effettive o supposte della teologia cattolica, prevalentemente italiana dall'autore già più volte esposto. Tali deficienze sono di carattere molto

disparato ed alcune affermazioni sono molto strane, per usare un eufemismo. Ad esempio non si vede quale problema nasca dal fatto che mentre i sinottici descrivono un solo viaggio di Gesù a Gerusalemme, Giovanni ne presuppone diversi (cf. p. 108). In seguito Pesce illustra le reazioni alla sua intervista con il giornalista C. Augias, che pare abbia avuto un eccezionale successo. Replica alle critiche formulate dal p. De Rosa sul *La Civiltà Cattolica* definendole "totalmente false e infondate" (p. 111). Noi ne abbiamo formulate di più gravi su questa rivista (cf. OCP 73 [2007] 451-477), che l'autore pare non conoscere e che non staremo a ripetere. Redarguiamo in questo contesto solo una sua bizzarra affermazione: a suo parere la traduzione di Mc 7,19 corrente in tutte le maggiori lingue ("così egli [Gesù] *dichiarava* mondi tutti gli alimenti") ed adottata anche da p. De Rosa sarebbe erronea (cf. p. 113). Il participio καθαρίζων ivi presente si riferirebbe non al soggetto della frase, effettivamente lontano, cioè a Gesù, bensì a qualche termine immediatamente precedente. Insomma a suo parere Gesù direbbe che sarebbe la digestione o l'evacuazione a purificare tutti i cibi! A parte il fatto che il senso globale della pericope non può essere che quello espresso dalla traduzione consueta, per ottenere ciò che sostiene Pesce bisognerebbe cambiare il testo greco, dato che il participio in questione è maschile e al nominativo, mentre se si riferisse a ἀφεδρῶνα (= latrina, che è un accusativo) dovrebbe pure essere all'accusativo e se invece si riferisse a tutta l'azione precedente dovrebbe essere al neutro. Effettivamente qualche manoscritto secondario opera tali cambiamenti, ma il testo tradizionale è praticamente certo. Di fatto tutti i commentari del vangelo di Marco (da Origene a Klostermann, Lagrange, Lohmeyer, Schweizer, Grundmann, Gnllka, van Iersel, Légasse, Moloney ecc.) discutono il passo e sono praticamente concordi nell'attribuire a Gesù l'azione di "dichiarare puri" tutti i cibi. Questo significato causativo di καθαρίζω è d'altronde già presente nei LXX (Lev 13,6.13.23.28) e poi in At 10,15; 11,9. Il senso sostenuto da Pesce viene normalmente dichiarato "macabro", "sarcastico" o "cinico". L'autore annette un'appendice polemica contro le osservazioni critiche formulate dal p. Cantalamessa su *L'Avvenire*, che si sviluppa con le consuete tecniche verbali del precedente.

Riassumendo, il testo in questione può essere utile al lettore per informarsi sulle dinamiche e le problematiche che agitano gli storici in Italia; dispiace il tono a volte provocatorio e polemico.

C. Marucci, S.I.

PETRÀ, Basilio, *La contraccensione nella tradizione ortodossa*, EDB, Bologna 2009, pp. 133, € 13,20.

L'autore è un autorevole conoscitore della tradizione ortodossa, greca e slava, in particolare nel campo della teologia morale e della pratica pastorale, sia nelle fonti che negli sviluppi contemporanei. Nel presente saggio, pur concludendo che "la Chiesa cattolica e la Chiesa ortodossa sono sorelle per quanto concerne il

problema della contraccezione" (p. 119) ed evidenziando le somiglianze, ne descrive anche le differenze, non solo tra le due Chiese, ma anche in seno agli autori ortodossi stessi, i quali si diversificano nei loro approcci ed interpretazioni della tradizione patristica e canonica antica circa l'argomento trattato.

Differenze circa l'illiceità della contraccezione in linea di principio non ci sono tra le due Chiese, in quanto esse ritengono la contraccezione comportamento morale non retto da parte dei coniugi per evitare il concepimento. Ma a livello sacramentale e pastorale, si nota in ambito ortodosso un approccio "condiscendente" in foro interno, ricorrendo all'applicazione del principio dell'*"oikonomia ecclesiastica"*. La Chiesa ortodossa, mediante il ministero del padre spirituale, davanti alle ferite morali, che possono accadere ad ogni fedele che lotta, rende disponibile per la guarigione la "clinica spirituale" detta Sacra Penitenza (Confessione), offrendo l'opportunità di "adottare la cura adatta alla malattia" (cf. p. 122). Il Concilio Trullano (Quinisesto, 691-692) nel can. 102 e sulla linea di san Basilio, considera il peccato come una "malattia" e il padre spirituale e confessore come un "medico", che somministra i "farmaci" spirituali per la guarigione del malato, rimedi applicati secondo i casi, ora con severità e rigore (*akribeia*), ora con comprensione e filantropia (*oikonomia*).

Il Petrà descrive ed analizza con oggettività la posizione ortodossa. Infatti, in ambito ortodosso è proprio la considerazione seria della realtà della lotta del cristiano sulla terra e nella carne che costituisce la base dell'attitudine ecclesiale dell'economia e delle forme che assume. In tal modo "il ricorso 'spiritualmente guidato' alla contraccezione diventa allora una soluzione possibile — per sua natura provvisoria ma senza limiti di provvisorietà, legata com'è a condizioni che la rendono pastoralmente consigliabile per il bene delle persone" (p. 122). L'attitudine degli ortodossi nei confronti della contraccezione è "un processo che è intimamente connesso con l'*economia* ortodossa, ovvero con lo stile ortodosso di porre in rapporto legge e realtà, norma e dato dell'esperienza" (p. 6).

"Ci si può chiedere a questo punto — si interroga Petrà — perché la Chiesa cattolica non possa avere lo stesso tipo di soluzione a livello formale, dal momento che a livello sacramentale e di prassi pastorale non sono pochi i ministri cattolici che di fatto si comportano come i confessori ortodossi, spesso non senza sensi di colpa" (p. 123). Egli non si azzarda a dare una risposta, ma cerca di far solo degli accenni che ritiene forse non inutili, partendo dal concetto ecclesiologicalo di Magistero nella Chiesa cattolica e nella Chiesa ortodossa. Infatti, mentre nella Chiesa cattolica esiste un magistero infallibile — straordinario e ordinario — del Romano Pontefice e dei vescovi in comunione con lui, cioè un magistero morale strutturato secondo un rigoroso e "autentico" (dotato di autorità) linguaggio morale, la Chiesa ortodossa non ha mai sviluppato un magistero vivente dotato di somma autorità, ma possiede il magistero dei Sacri canoni antichi interpretati in modo vario secondo le necessità storiche e pastorali e secondo la competenza (economico-pastorale) dei soggetti (p. 123). Perciò l'Autore conclude che "nell'ortodossia la mediazione pastorale è parte intrinseca della stessa autorità magisteriale dei canoni, almeno nell'ambito morale e discipli-

nare", riconoscendo pertanto il dibattito non sempre pacifico nell'ermeneutica dei Sacri canoni esercitata dai singoli pastori e confessori (pp. 123-124).

Per la Chiesa cattolica "il magistero vivente e sommo offre non solo l'indicazione magisteriale ma anche la sua pienamente competente interpretazione" (p. 124). Petrà sembra ammettere che nella Chiesa cattolica esiste di fatto "un effetto dualistico tra dottrina e prassi pastorale", cioè tra la *praxis confessarii* e la dottrina, "che l'ortodossia, almeno in questo ambito, sembra evitare" (p. 124).

Ma il problema di fondo è proprio di definire il rapporto tra dottrina teologica e prassi pastorale. A mio modesto parere, in materia di fede e di costumi, non può essere ammesso un effetto dualistico, cioè una diversità tra principi dottrinali e prassi pastorale. Il concetto cattolico giuridico-pastorale di *aequitas*, di dispensa, di *epikeia* si applica solo nel campo della legge ecclesiastica. Anche la Chiesa ortodossa, sebbene non esista in essa un magistero autentico infallibile, — come quello cattolico —, per tutte quelle cose che si devono credere per fede divina (naturale e positiva) è ferma e intransigente; per quanto concerne la questione del matrimonio, la procreazione, la fertilità, l'aborto e la contraccezione, la tradizione patristica e i Sacri canoni contengono principi morali inderogabili e irreversibili. I canonisti ortodossi distinguono infatti tra "Sacri canoni dogmatici" per sé immutabili, e "Sacri canoni ecclesiastici" mutabili. Però l'applicazione del principio dell' "*economia ecclesiastica pastorale*", lasciata al giudizio e al discernimento soggettivo di ogni pastore e di ogni confessore, potrebbe forse indebolire e rendere in pratica superflui i principi di fede. La pastorale non può prescindere dalla dottrina; *ortodossia* e *ortoprassi* sono intimamente legate. Sebbene tra i teologi ortodossi contemporanei si incontrino varie interpretazioni personali, tutti concordano nell'attribuire somma importanza al magistero più elevato e più autorevole dei Sacri canoni emanati dai primi sette concili ecumenici, dal primo (325) al secondo (787) di Nicea (cf. cap. I e II). Nei Sacri canoni troviamo riferimenti diretti al delitto dell'aborto (sinodo di Ancira [313-314], can. 21; concilio Trullano [691-692], can. 91; san Basilio [† 379], cann. 2 e 8), ma non è facile trovare riferimenti diretti alla contraccezione. Ciò è dovuto forse al fatto che i termini greci usati per indicare i mezzi per ottenere l'aborto o la contraccezione spesso coincidono.

Mi sia permesso di segnalare che in un mio studio *La difesa della vita nella normativa della Chiesa orientale antica* (cf. *Dolentium Hominum*, 28 [1995] 68-76), ho cercato di evidenziare che, contrariamente alla cultura greco-romana e alla pratica della contraccezione, ampiamente diffusa già nei primi secoli del cristianesimo con l'uso di un gran numero di mezzi contro la fertilità, la tradizione canonica della Chiesa orientale antica si è formata sulla linea della tradizione biblica; il concetto della vita, del matrimonio e della procreazione hanno un fondamento biblico. La Chiesa orientale esprime la sua avversione categorica nei confronti dell'uso illecito della sessualità. Di fatto i padri orientali conoscevano la medicina greca del loro tempo, la quale, pur possedendo nozioni che oggi riterrmmo limitate e non corrette sull'insieme della vita riproduttiva, non era tuttavia priva di conoscenze sull'aborto, né era priva di qualche idea sulla contrac-

cezione, per prevenire, sia prima che dopo un atto sessuale, la fecondazione dell'ovulo da parte dello sperma.

Pertanto era già ben chiara nella scienza medica la distinzione tra mezzi contraccettivi e mezzi abortivi. Abbiamo in merito un documento della prima metà del sec. II del noto ginecologo ellenista Sorano di Efeso (98-138), il quale distingue tra *atokion* e *phthorion*: il primo impedisce il concepimento (*syllapsis*), il secondo rovina il concepito (cf. Sorano, *Gynaikēia*, I, 60). L'autore ne parla nel cap. II del libro.

La severità della normativa canonica della Chiesa orientale nei primi sette secoli, contraria alla contraccezione e all'aborto, manifesta la ferma volontà del cristianesimo primitivo di difendere e servire la vita sin dal concepimento.

Circa un concetto implicito o esplicito di contraccezione nella patristica greca, notiamo una qualche incertezza, cioè se ci si riferisca all'aborto o alla contraccezione. Tuttavia sono interessanti in merito due testi di san Giovanni Crisostomo (344-407) probabilmente pensati in senso anticontraccettivo. Nel primo egli parla di coloro che "non hanno ucciso i figli nascituri, ma hanno impedito la stessa nascita (*sed etiam ne nascerentur efficientes*)". Anche nel secondo il Crisostomo parla di coloro che «impediscono la nascita» del bimbo, "offendendo così Dio e le sue leggi" (*Hom. in Matthaeum* 29; *Hom. in Romanos* 24). Impedire la nascita avrebbe il senso di uso di mezzi anticontraccettivi. Petrà riporta l'opinione contraria di altro autore (J.-C. Larchet) che ritiene Crisostomo tra i fautori di "posizioni compatibili con una pratica della contraccezione", opinione che egli non condivide (p. 27).

Inoltre è da notare l'esattezza della terminologia greca medica usata da san Basilio, teologo e giurista. Si tratta precisamente di "farmaci abortivi" che sono "veleni che uccidono" il feto concepito, distinti da quei mezzi che deviano la finalizzazione dei rapporti sessuali impedendo la procreazione. Nel primo caso viene ucciso il feto concepito, mentre nel secondo si usa della natura contro la procreazione.

Inoltre san Basilio respinge la tesi sostenuta già nel suo tempo, cioè la distinzione tra feto "formato" e feto "non formato"; per cui l'aborto del feto che non ha ancora raggiunto la forma umana non sarebbe considerato un omicidio. San Basilio concorda pienamente con Tertulliano, il quale sosteneva che "il frutto nel corpo materno è uomo dal momento in cui è pienamente formato" (*De anima* 37.2: *Ex eo igitur fetus in utero homo, a quo forma completa est*: Tertulliani opera, pars II, 839).

Il tema della contraccezione nella tradizione ortodossa, trattato da Basilio Petrà nei suoi rapporti con la tradizione cattolica, è un problema di teologia morale e di coscienza per i coniugi cristiani. È vero che nell'opinione diffusa presso la Chiesa ortodossa la contraccezione è stata sempre considerata come un fatto riguardante la coscienza dei coniugi. Ma il compito dei pastori è proprio quello di illuminare questa coscienza. Impedire il concepimento con mezzi contraccettivi significa impedire l'attuazione del piano di Dio. In foro interno di coscienza, il confessore, munito della sacra potestà di sciogliere e di legare, è il solo a poter

giudicare il comportamento morale dei coniugi in questa materia. Lo studio del Petrà rispecchia oggettivamente l'ottica dottrinale e pastorale presso i moralisti ortodossi; in ambito cattolico questa ottica suscita qualche perplessità; in ambito ecumenico offre ai moralisti cattolici ed ortodossi un campo per un ulteriore approfondimento e confronto inteso a far emergere la tradizione comune e ad affrontare i problemi pastorali di coscienza dei fedeli.

D. Salachas

RUYSSEN, Georges-Henri, *Eucharistie et Œcuménisme. Évolution de la normativité universelle et comparaison avec certaines normes particulières. Canons 844/CIC et 671/CCEO*, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 2008, pp. 822, € 48,00.

Here is a massive volume on a topic of enduring contemporary interest, *communicatio in sacris*. This is a vast subject, too. The author has rightly restricted his treatment to the Eucharist and dealt with it amply focusing on canons 844 of the Latin *Code of Canon Law* of 1983 (CIC), which corresponds to canon 671 of the 1990 *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (CCEO). The book is essentially a commentary on these two canons, which are in fact identical in substance and in wording, except for minor verbal differences suggested by conformity to the style sheet of the respective codification. This is a work of canon law set on a broad canvas of history and is nourished by sound doctrine.

Within the limits set by the author, he has presented us with a work of scholarship, well rooted in the ecclesiology and the sacramental theology of the Second Vatican Council. The work maintains proper equilibrium in the light of the pre-codification ecumenical directory of 1967 and the post-codification directory of 1993. All the other relevant documents of the Church magisterium have been drawn upon, including the postsynodal exhortation of Pope Benedict XVI, *Sacramentum caritatis* of 2007, which have been duly surveyed, digested and presented in the first two chapters. There is a good commentary on can. 844 of CIC and can. 671 of CCEO in the second chapter.

The third and final chapter is devoted to particular law in the matter of *communicatio in sacris*. One of the important guidelines of the post-Vatican codification of canon law of the Catholic Church was the principle of subsidiarity. This principle has guided the norms issued by the supreme Church authority in both the codes as well as outside them, leaving due room for particular law. This is illustrated with extensive citations from documents issued by episcopal conferences and bishops for their own Churches and Christian faithful: France, Switzerland, United Kingdom and Ireland, the Archdiocese of Brisbane in Australia, Canada, United States of America, Germany and Austria. These documents enable us to see from close quarters the pastoral landscape, where the Christian faithful are prone to abuse in the Eucharistic hospitality, either by excess or by indifferentism. One major document, extensively cited analysed and commented upon (pp. 569-599), is *One Bread, One Body* issued jointly in 1998 by three episcopal conferences of England and Wales, of Ireland, and of Scotland,



although this document has not received (as noted on p. 570) the *recognitio* of the Holy See required by can. 455 § 2 of CIC for it to become juridically obligatory. The endnotes of this third chapter alone, 484 in number, run into 76 pages in small print (pp. 643-719), which testify to the detailed manner in which the author has dealt with the subject with remarkable analytical acumen. The bibliography is extensive and comprehensive, running from page 773 to page 820. All in all then, here is a substantial work, analytical and synthetic, historical, doctrinal, canonical, pastoral and ecumenical. Although the focus is on sharing the Eucharist among Christians of the divided Churches and Ecclesial Communities, there are tangential references to *communicatio in sacris* as regards the other sacraments like penance, anointing of the sick and marriage. The "Conclusion" (723-739) summarises the three preceding chapters and offers valuable comparative insights and critical observations.

Readers of *OCP* would naturally want to know what the book under review has to say from the standpoint of the Eastern Churches in particular. Not much, indeed, very little is found in it. This needs to be stated forthrightly, because the subtitle of the book "Canons 844/CIC et 671/CCEO" seems to suggest a balanced treatment of the subject of Eucharistic sharing among the Christians of the West and of the East. These canons are indeed dealt with extensively and exhaustively in their genesis, development and final form (pp. 184-303). As a matter of fact can. 671 of CCEO is identical in content with can. 844 of CIC, which is its obvious redactional source. The differences between the two are minimal and purely formal or stylistic, as may be ascertained from the useful "Annexe II: Schema comparatif des c. 844/CIC et 671/CCEO" (751-752). Although in a comprehensive work like the present one, attention may be drawn to these minute differences, they may as well be overlooked and nothing of substance will be lost. What is meant by comparative law is the study of laws governing the same subject and differing in contents, not in minor details of form. Indeed, the comparative study of the two codes is the method of teaching canon law after the promulgation of the two codes, as directed by the lawgiver Pope John Paul II himself. But there is nothing to compare between can 844 of CIC and can. 671 of CCEO from the standpoint of comparative law and nothing is gained by featuring both in the subtitle of the present book.

Actually can. 671 of CCEO featured in the subtitle of the book creates the expectation that the Eastern lung will be given equal attention along with the Western lung of the Church, so that the breathing may be symmetrical and healthy. This hope or expectation turns out to be a disillusionment. The Christian orient with its vast variety and complexity is mostly overlooked. In contrast, appendix III presents sixteen documents containing the particular law or "Normes des Conférences épiscopales avec la *recognitio* du Saint-Siège" (pp. 753-757). Most of these are cited and commented in the book. In striking contrast there is little reference to the Orthodox Churches or the particular law of the Eastern Catholic Churches *sui iuris* (see p. 257). Clearly the book is written from a Latin perspective, mostly for a Latin audience. In fact it was originally a doctoral dissertation presented to the Faculty of Canon Law of the Gregorian University.

Surprisingly, this is not acknowledged in the book, contrary to the widespread practice of publishing such maiden works with grateful mention of the Doktorvater.

In the Eastern Churches that are not in full communion with the Catholic Church the norms and practice of *communicatio in sacris* differ widely ranging from the non-recognition of the validity of the Catholic baptism on the extreme left of the spectrum to claims of *quasi plena communio* on the extreme right. Even praying together the Our Father together with the Roman Catholics is anathema among certain highly conservative Orthodox groups and monastic communities. Invoking "tradition and orthodox and patristic faith" they condemn ecumenism as treason. They hold that those coming from "papism" or "the pseudo-Churches of Western Europe" need to be baptized and received into the true Church. A recent example is the document entitled "Confession of Faith" published recently in Greece before the start of the meeting of the Catholic-Orthodox International Commission in September 2009 in Cyprus. This document carried the signatures of 9000 Greek Orthodox zealots including six Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian metropolitans and bishops, five abbots of Mount Athos, thirty-six abbots of monasteries of Greece, Cyprus, Serbia and U.S.A, and several professors of theological faculties as well as clerics, monks, nuns and lay persons. It created no little embarrassment for the Ecumenical Patriarchate (see "Commissione mista cattolico-ortodossa e dialogo minato dalla *Confessione di fede contro l'ecumenismo*," in *O Odigos* 28/2009, n. 4, pp. 5-8:). This contemporary chronicle points to a reality and milieu that is not new but deserves attention when dealing with the particular law and practice regarding *communicatio in sacris*. The sixteen examples of particular law cited by Ruysen are informative but they represent mostly the Western world. The particular law of at least some of the Patriarchal and/or Major Archiepiscopal Churches could have been cited to illustrate the application of can. 844 §3 of CIC (can. 671 §3 of CCEO) in the Christian Orient, *comparaison avec certaines normes particulières*, as is stated in the subtitle. This is a notable desideratum of the book. On the whole, however, it is a solid, informative and useful work, which deserves particular appreciation seeing that it is Ruysen's first published work on the subject. It promises well for the future.

G. Nedungatt, S.I.

STAVRAKOS, Christos – Alexandra-Kyriaki WASSILIOU – Mesrob K. KRIKORIAN, Hg., *Hypermachos. Studien zu Byzantinistik, Armenologie und Georgistik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2008, pp. xxviii + 322, € 78,00.

Il volume, dedicato al bizantinista austriaco Werner Seibt in occasione del suo sessantacinquesimo compleanno, raccoglie 25 articoli — per lo più in inglese e tedesco, due in greco e uno in francese — rappresentativi dei molteplici filoni di ricerca seguiti dallo studioso. Infatti, come si può desumere dalla sua ampia

bibliografia (pp. XXI-XXVIII), Seibt ha il merito non solo di aver perfezionato i criteri di analisi e valorizzazione dei sigilli per l'indagine storica, traendone importanti dati di natura geografica e prosopografica, ma anche di aver incluso nel suo orizzonte di studi il Caucaso, regione periferica e spesso trascurata dell'Impero bizantino, che egli ha riportato al centro dell'attenzione con due convegni sulla diffusione del cristianesimo (1999) e sulla contestuale creazione degli alfabeti caucasici come fenomeno storico-culturale (2005).

Alla sfragistica e alle sue immediate ricadute in ambito prosopografico sono rivolti otto contributi. Jean-Claude Cheynet descrive 19 sigilli della famiglia Skleros, in parte inediti, appartenenti alla collezione G. Zacos, conservata nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Francia. Salvatore Cosentino analizza il sigillo di un certo Teofilatto, rinvenuto in Sardegna nel 1994, mostrando la rilevanza delle informazioni ricavate dalla sfragistica per la storia economica, oltre che per la prosopografia e la storia delle istituzioni. Sul ruolo dello studio dei sigilli associati a un dato territorio per la ricostruzione della vita quotidiana locale pone, invece, l'accento Ivan Jordanov, che presenta 33 pezzi, per lo più inediti, provenienti dalla fortezza di Kale (Dimitrovgrad, Bulgaria), databili tra XI e XII sec. Olga Karagiorgou raccoglie per la prima volta tutti i sigilli attribuiti al futuro imperatore Niceforo III Botaniates, ordinandoli secondo la progressione della sua carriera e confrontando i dati ricavati con quanto riportato dalle fonti letterarie. I sigilli esaminati sono 31, altri 7 non sono attribuibili al futuro imperatore, pur portando il suo nome. 27 sigilli databili tra il VI e l'XI secolo sono descritti da Ioanna Koltsida-Makri, mentre 18 del periodo XII-inizio XIV sec. sono presentati da Ioannes G. Leontiadis. Sul sigillo di Ioannes protospatario e stratega, rinvenuto nel 2005 nei dintorni del villaggio serbo di Vojska e databile tra 1020 e 1050 si soffermano Ljubomir Maksimović e Bojana Kršmanović, gettando luce sul sistema dei temi bizantini in area balcanica. John Nesbitt esamina 12 sigilli inediti della Collezione Dumbarton Oaks riguardanti alcuni personaggi dei sec. XI-XII appartenenti alla famiglia degli Spondylai, il cui esponente principale fu Michele Spondyles, duca di Antiochia (1026-29), noto alle fonti letterarie.

La numismatica e i suoi legami trasversali con la letteratura sono, invece, oggetto dello studio di Wolfgang Hahn, che illustra alcuni passi del *Panegirico* di Flavio Cresconio Corippo in onore di Giustino II alla luce della tipologia delle monete di questo imperatore, ricordando quale potente strumento di propaganda fossero le monete e quale, dunque, possa essere l'apporto della numismatica alla ricostruzione della storia dell'ideologia.

Sette sono i contributi di argomento armenistico-caucasologico, dedicati, tuttavia, a tematiche piuttosto eterogenee. Wachtang Djobadze offre una convincente interpretazione di un affresco della chiesa georgiana di Otxta Eklesia (oggi Dörtkilise) nel Tao, Turchia nord-orientale, riconoscendovi una rappresentazione allegorica della Sion celeste e indicando in mosaici di Siria, Palestina e Giordania — paesi ben noti ai pellegrini georgiani diretti in Terra Santa — i modelli a cui l'artista si sarebbe ispirato. Tale ipotesi è confortata sul piano ideologico dal legame ideale tra l'antica Georgia e Gerusalemme (la dinastia Bagrationi discenderebbe da Davide, molte antiche basiliche georgiane sono denominate "di

Sion": Bolnisi Sioni, Urnisi Sioni, Samšvilde Sioni ecc.). Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan, coniugando gli interessi bizantinistici e caucasologici di Seibt, indaga il problema dell'ipotetico originale greco della leggenda di Boris e Gleb — figli di Vladimiro I di Kiev, uccisi da Svjatopolk I il Dannato — sulla base della tradizione armena. La studiosa fa il punto sulla composita tradizione letteraria della vicenda e, sulla scorta delle ricerche di Gevorg Abgarjan (1982), si schiera contro l'ipotesi dell'esistenza di una versione greca, pur non potendola escludere con certezza. Carattere antiquario ha l'articolo di Wachtang Imnaischwili, che ricostruisce la storia dell'acquisizione da parte della Biblioteca Universitaria di Graz di alcuni manoscritti georgiani basandosi sulla corrispondenza del celebre linguista Hugo Schuchardt, professore a Graz, che li acquistò da un pittore viennese, dopo il loro trafugamento dal monastero di Santa Caterina sul Sinai tra il 1883 e il 1902. Si tratta di quattro codici e tre fogli isolati, tra cui spicca il *Lezionario xanmeti* del VII sec., uno dei più antichi manoscritti georgiani. Mesrob K. Krikorian presenta un *excursus* piuttosto compilativo sul regno dei Bagratuni, illustrando la situazione geopolitica che ne favorì la formazione, la data della nomina di Ašot a re, i rapporti con gli altri rami della famiglia Bagratuni e con altri dinasti armeni, come gli Arcruni, nonché gli epigoni del casato dopo la conquista di Alp Arslan, la fioritura culturale bagratide ecc. A Jean-Pierre Mahé si deve, invece, una brillante — tanto sotto il profilo morfologico che semantico — etimologia del nome della santa armena Hrip'simē, derivato dall'aggettivo verbale greco \*ρίψιμος "che deve essere gettato", come suggerisce in modo inequivocabile un passo di Agat'angelos. Tale significato si spiega con una interpretazione simbolica del martirio di cui serbano traccia gli *Atti* apocrifi e gli scritti ermetici. Annegret Plontke-Lüning si occupa di un vessillo della Svanezia, che riproduce in seta le sembianze di un leone, con lunghe gambe e coda, e con piccole orecchie, occhi e naso in filo d'argento, descrivendo anche la punta di lancia (XIII sec.) con figure e scritte in rilievo che orna l'asta alla quale esso è appeso. La studiosa confronta questa figura zoomorfa con gli stendardi di ambito scitico, romano e partico-sasanide raffiguranti draghi, rintracciandone la probabile origine tra le culture iraniche nord-orientali delle steppe. Johannes Preiser-Kappeller raccoglie e discute titoli e funzioni conferiti a nobili dell'area caucasica tra i sec. VII e IX e attestati nelle fonti armene — *zōravar*, *zōravarut'iwn*, *patrkut'iwn*, *kiwrapalatut'iwn*, *išxan*, *sparapet* ecc. —, richiamando l'attenzione sull'imprecisione dei testi, per cui, ad esempio, un termine come *hrovartak* può indicare genericamente una lettera che conferisce un mandato, o il documento che sancisce il conferimento di titoli e funzioni.

Ben oltre il Caucaso guarda lo studio di Michael Kordosis, relativo alla missione diplomatica bizantina in Cina nel 643, quando l'avanzata degli arabi sul territorio sasanide suscitava timori anche nei cinesi, che allora avevano occupato solo una piccola parte del Turfan (odierno Turkestan orientale). Sulla base di evidenze numismatiche si ipotizza come inizio della missione il 641, o al più tardi, il 642. Problematica l'identificazione del nome Po-to-li, con cui le fonti cinesi chiamano il re di Fu-lin (Bisanzio): più che il termine *patriarca*, nella sua versione aramaica *batrirk*, sembra vi si debba ravvisare il titolo *batalik* dato dagli

irabi ai comandanti delle province bizantine, ma anche a sovrani come Eraclio.

Di carattere filologico sono altri cinque contributi attinenti ad argomenti diversi. Costas N. Constantinides tratta di uno scolio sulla Britannia e i Bretoni in un manoscritto atonita del XV sec. (*Codex Athos, Ivriion 175*), elencando le prime occorrenze dei nomi Inglesi/Inghilterra nelle fonti bizantine, con ampia bibliografia, e riportando il passo in questione, messo a confronto con la sua fonte — l'epitome di Xifilino di Cassio Dione 77, 12-13 — e con il medesimo scolio trasmesso da una pergamena del X sec. (*Paris. suppl. gr. 607 A*). Due testi poetici bizantini, diversi per genere ma entrambi dedicati a san Demetrio, sono pubblicati e corredati di analisi metrica e note a carattere prevalentemente lessicale da Sofia Kotzabassi. Uno, trasmesso dal *Cod. Berol. Phil. 1491 (B)* del sec. XIII o XIV, si compone di 70 versi di 15 sillabe ed è mutilo nella parte finale. L'altro è un acrostico alfabetico conservato nel codice 303 (A) del *metochion* del S. Sepolcro di Gerusalemme ed è probabilmente opera di un Ioannes Strymbakon, vissuto tra il XIII e il XIV sec. Un ulteriore apporto allo studio del lessico bizantino viene dalle osservazioni di Erich Trapp su un certo numero di manoscritti delle Meteore. Sulle fonti, non ancora indagate, del trattato di medicina di Giovanni Zacharia Actuarios scrive Apostolos Karpozilos, sottolineando le coincidenze con l'opera di Paolo di Egina, in particolare nella descrizione dei sintomi delle malattie, dove il debito nei confronti della fonte è tradito da un palese taglia-incolla. Theodora Papadopoulou analizza l'uso dei termini *Μυσός* e *Μυσία* nelle fonti bizantine del periodo medio e tardo, mettendo in evidenza come essi designino due distinte regioni, una nell'Asia Minore settentrionale e l'altra nella Tracia settentrionale.

I restanti articoli hanno un carattere più marcatamente storico-archeologico. Tale è il caso dello studio di Friedrich Hild, che partendo dall'analisi delle pietre miliari ricostruisce il percorso della *Via Sebaste*, tra Perge, città nella quale nasceva, e Pappa/Tiberiupolis, da dove la strada giungeva fino a Iconio e Listra. Viene così sbizzato il ruolo di questa via nella penetrazione coloniale in Pisidia e Licaonia, nel sud della Provincia di Galazia, gettando luce sulla fondazione di colonie augustee in Pisidia menzionata nelle *Res gestae*. Lo stesso nome ibrido latino e greco della via, del resto, testimonia della commistione tra la lingua diffusa in quelle regioni e quella dei nuovi dominatori. Eleonora Kountoura-Galake tratta dell'incendio dell'*Oikoumenikon Didaskaleion* e dell'esecuzione dell'*oikoumenikos didascalos* imputati all'imperatore iconoclasta Leone III dopo il definitivo abbandono dell'iconoclastismo nell'843, ma da ritenersi, secondo la studiosa, una creazione tardiva di Ioannes Staurakios, che attraverso questa vicenda avrebbe inteso alludere, non potendo farlo apertamente, alla punizione inflitta da Michele VIII a Manuele Holobolos per la sua opposizione alla politica ecclesiastica imperiale. Uno studio statistico della durata dei regni degli imperatori bizantini è, infine, presentato da Ralph-Johannes Lilie. Egli non si limita a dare fondamento oggettivo alla percezione empirica che quella di imperatore fosse tra le occupazioni più insicure dell'Impero, avendo una durata media di 12 anni (ma il 27% degli imperatori non sopravvisse ai primi due anni di regno, mentre 22 regnarono per più di venti anni), ma, rilevando come gli usurpatori

che regnarono più a lungo fossero coloro che riuscirono a creare una dinastia (p. es. Costantino I 31 anni, Eraclio 31, Leone III 24, Michele II 9, Basilio I 19, Alessio I Comneno 37, Teodoro I Lascaris 18, Michele VIII Paleologo 23), analizza anche i meccanismi di legittimazione dei sovrani. Infatti, l'abilità nel creare un consenso di lunga durata è proporzionale alla capacità di legittimare il proprio potere, per esempio stringendo vincoli matrimoniali con una famiglia imperiale e mostrandosi in grado di sottoporre al proprio controllo le istituzioni dello stato.

La maggior parte degli articoli raccolti in questo volume, oltre ad ampliare le conoscenze in ambiti specifici delle scienze storiche, lascia la sensazione dell'importanza delle discipline cosiddette ausiliarie della storia quali strumenti di analisi per una ricostruzione il più possibile accurata di determinate fasi storiche, aiutando la verifica della bontà delle fonti letterarie e integrando in modo sostanziale l'informazione di queste ultime, in linea con il senso più profondo dell'attività scientifica di Werner Seibt.

M. Bais

## INDICATIONES

BAGNALL, Roger S., *Livres chrétiens antiques d'Égypte* [Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 44], École pratique des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques – III, Librairie Droz, Genève 2009, pp. x + 117, € 38,44.

Ce petit volume contient le texte de quatre conférences tenues par l'A. à Paris en 2006. Comme il le souligne dans l'Avant-propos, le sujet n'est pas un "terrain inconnu" (p. vii) — les études sur les débuts du codex ne manquent pas —, mais c'est le type d'approche qui retiendra l'attention. L'A. est un papyrologue dont la synthèse *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, publiée en 1993, est devenue un classique. Rédigé dans un parfait français, l'ouvrage n'en reste pas moins typiquement américain de ton et de facture — il en existe du reste une version en anglais parue avec le même titre et la même année à Princeton.

Le premier chapitre (p. 1-25), des "considérations générales", est consacré aux problèmes de datation des premiers livres chrétiens en Égypte. Suivent deux "études de cas" (p. 27-49), une sévère critique des aprioris de C. Thiede pour justifier une datation haute des fragments des Évangiles P<sup>4</sup>, P<sup>64</sup> + P<sup>67</sup>, puis un éloge à la "bonne, voire excellente érudition" (p. 41-42) qui a prévalu dans les débats autour des fragments du *Pasteur d'Hermas*. Le chapitre III est plus technique, sur "l'économie et la production des livres" (p. 51-73). Quant au dernier, intitulé "La transformation du livre antique", il tire les conclusions de l'enquête. Suit la Bibliographie (p. 97-102) et douze planches en noir et blanc.

Dans le compte rendu de *Egypt in Late Antiquity* qu'on peut lire maintenant dans le recueil *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine*, Paris, 2008, Jean Gascoq a

relevé une caractéristique de l'A.: "Dès que Bagnall pense, c'est «how much»" (p. 401); les quatre conférences pour l'École pratique des hautes études ne viennent pas démentir cette tendance. Quand il s'agit de réalités mesurables, comme la dimension d'un rouleau ou d'un codex, le format, le nombre de pages, la proportion de pièces conservées sur papyrus ou sur parchemin, le prix d'achat d'un codex etc., l'A. nous rend un grand service en nous offrant ses réflexions et ses tableaux. Quand il s'agit en revanche de valeurs subjectives ou de choix devenus pour nous incontrôlables, comme celui de diffuser tel livre plutôt qu'un autre, les statistiques peuvent être trompeuses: l'usage liturgique ou dévotionnel, par exemple, a pu favoriser la copie de certaines œuvres au détriment d'autres qui n'étaient pourtant ni obscures, ni mises de côté, encore moins condamnées. Les livres non chrétiens ont pu être copiés pour des chrétiens qui à leur tour auront choisi le format du codex pour les éditer etc. Et qui oserait prétendre que saint Antoine est négligé par les Coptes, uniquement parce qu'un seul grand monastère lui est dédié en Égypte et que jamais aucun Patriarche non-chalcédonien d'Alexandrie n'a voulu s'appeler ainsi? Tout ne se prête pas au quantitatif et il faut mesurer ce qui est mesurable.

Dans le premier chapitre, l'A. n'est pas trop à son aise et certaines formules laissent songeur. Qu'est-ce que, par exemple, le "christianisme catholique orthodoxe issu des luttes théologiques de l'Antiquité tardive" (p. 3)? D'autre part, il ignore certains travaux qui lui auraient permis de mettre ensemble des intuitions dispersées dans son livre. P. 71-72, s'il relève bien le tournant décisif dans la société égyptienne que fut l'introduction des conseils municipaux dans les métropoles de nomes vers l'an 200, sous Septime Sévère, il n'en exploite pas assez le potentiel. En effet, Eduard Schwartz avait déjà mis en rapport cette nouveauté absolue avec l'évolution de l'épiscopat qui, selon nos sources, passe sous Démétrius d'Alexandrie d'un seul évêque à quatre, puis à une vingtaine sous Héraclas, cf. A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle (328-373)*, Rome 1996, p. 24; nous croyons que ceci explique au mieux l'évolution singulière de l'organisation ecclésiastique du II<sup>e</sup> au III<sup>e</sup> siècle en Égypte. C'est de Rome et de sa politique impériale qu'est venue l'impulsion majeure pour la multiplication des évêchés dans le pays, selon la règle la plus commune que l'on voit se dessiner au III<sup>e</sup> siècle en Asie Mineure et en Afrique: un évêque par cité. Quand l'A. propose "de faire de la romanisation le moteur de la diffusion du codex" (p. 93), nous ne pouvons que le suivre.

André Grabar, dans un tout autre contexte, nous a laissé ce paradoxe: l'art chrétien "naît vieux", parce qu'il s'inspire de modèles gréco-romains. Mais c'est tout le christianisme qui, dans ses premiers siècles, n'a rien inventé, reprenant les réalités sociales et culturelles de son temps pour les transformer de l'intérieur par un message dont le caractère innovateur, quant à lui, n'a pas fini de surprendre.

BIANCHI, Luca, *Eucaristia ed ecumenismo. Pasqua di tutti i cristiani*, EDB, Bologna 2007, pp. 135, € 11,00.

Il presente volume di Luca Bianchi — docente alla Pontificia Università Antonianum e da anni impegnato nel dialogo ecumenico, in special modo con la Chiesa greca — è una presentazione agile e sommaria del cammino ecumenico compiuto dalle Chiese sul tema dell'Eucaristia.

L'opera è divisa in tre parti. Nella prima, dopo aver ripercorso a grandi linee la storia del dialogo ecumenico tra la Chiesa cattolica romana e la Chiesa ortodossa, si presentano i primi quattro documenti ufficiali della Commissione Mista Internazionale (CMI) istituita dalle due Chiese (Monaco 1982, Bari 1987, Valamo 1988 e Balamand 1993). Dopo aver fornito un breve sommario dello svolgimento degli incontri e delle difficoltà incontrate dal dopo Balamand fino al 2005, nel secondo capitolo l'Autore propone un itinerario di lettura sull'eucaristia attraverso i documenti di cui sopra, dando, ovviamente, maggior spazio a quello di Monaco 1982, del quale l'eucaristia era il tema centrale.

Nella seconda parte del volume l'Autore presenta l'eucaristia così come appare nella riflessione all'interno del Consiglio Ecumenico delle Chiese. In questa maniera, egli inserisce nella presentazione della dottrina eucaristica anche la prospettiva delle Comunità cristiane nate dalla Riforma. Dapprima si presenta il famoso BEM (*Baptism, Eucharisty, and Ministry*), frutto del lavoro della commissione *Faith and Order* a Lima nel 1982 e poi se ne analizza la dottrina eucaristica.

Nella terza parte del lavoro l'Autore propone un confronto tra le due prospettive eucaristiche, quella che sorge dal dialogo bilaterale tra Chiesa cattolica romana e Chiesa ortodossa, e quella che emerge dal dialogo all'interno del Consiglio Ecumenico delle Chiese, illustrando dapprima le convergenze e in seguito le differenze tra le due prospettive.

Nella conclusione, l'Autore si chiede quali apporti nuovi abbia portato il dialogo ecumenico alla comprensione teologica del mistero eucaristico, individuandoli soprattutto nel superamento del pericolo di un certo "crismonismo", che avrebbe fatto dimenticare le dimensioni pneumatologica ed ecclesiologica, fortemente legate al sacramento dell'eucaristia. L'altro aspetto sarebbe quello metodologico, che avrebbe aiutato a superare l'atteggiamento di contrapposizione polemica, aspetto dominante, per molto tempo, la teologia sacramentaria e non solo; avrebbe poi ricondotto nella riflessione teologica una terminologia più biblica e patristica, creando così un vocabolario comune tra le chiese, maggiormente condiviso rispetto alla terminologia filosofica; infine, il ritorno metodologico di una certa preminenza della *lex orandi* come norma della *lex credendi*. Come frutto, diremmo quasi conseguente, di una nuova apertura nel considerare il dialogo teologico e di una metodologia condivisa, si sono avuti degli indubbi arricchimenti nella comprensione del mistero eucaristico, quali una maggior attenzione alla dimensione soteriologica dell'eucaristia, al suo inserimento non limitato alla "cristologia" ma alla ben più ampia dinamica trinitaria, alle sue rela-



zioni costitutive e implicazioni con l'ecclesiologia e, infine, ai suoi aspetti etici ed escatologici.

Il volume è una sintesi dell'argomento, utile da tenere a portata di mano per chi volesse avere un quadro completo ma essenziale sul cammino ecumenico svoltosi attorno al tema, centrale e indispensabile, dell'eucaristia. L'Autore rimanda puntualmente a testi di respiro maggiore per chi volesse approfondire il tema o avere informazioni più circostanziate. Purtroppo, per la prima parte di carattere storico sono necessarie importanti integrazioni. La ricerca del nostro volume si ferma al 2005, con una sostanziale *impasse* nella quale il dialogo con la Chiesa ortodossa si era venuto a trovare dopo il mutato quadro politico nell'Est europeo e la conseguente venuta alla ribalta della questione delle Chiese greco-cattoliche. A Baltimora nel 2000 si era svolta la VIII Conferenza della CMI, ma le tensioni erano state tali che non si era ritenuto possibile elaborare un documento comune. Ma già al momento della pubblicazione del libro di Bianchi (2007) erano avvenute importanti novità, delle quali egli non ha ovviamente potuto tenere conto. Dopo un lungo periodo di difficoltà, nel 2006 si era riusciti a riunire di nuovo le conferenze a Belgrado (2006) e poi a Ravenna (2007). In seguito il cammino è continuato con Cipro (2009) e nel prossimo settembre 2010 a Vienna.

Se per la parte storica è necessario, dunque, un aggiornamento, per le conclusioni circa la teologia dell'eucaristia, che emerge dalla lettura dei documenti ufficiali, non ci pare che si debba aggiungere nulla che possa cambiare sostanzialmente le conclusioni dell'Autore.

Esprimiamo solo una impressione e una domanda, che ci sono sovvenute durante la lettura. L'impressione riguarda le differenze tra la dottrina dell'eucaristia che emerge dal dialogo bilaterale tra Chiesa cattolica romana e Chiesa ortodossa e quella che emerge invece dal BEM. Ci pare indiscutibile, come ci è sembrato illustrato dal lavoro del Bianchi, che la condivisione sostanziale del *framework* liturgico e la concezione ecclesiologica convergente (episcopato, etc.), lasci intravedere una maggiore affinità teologica con le conclusioni nel dialogo con la Chiesa ortodossa rispetto a quello dove sono coinvolte le Comunità cristiane nate dalla Riforma. Ciò comporta, a nostro avviso, la conferma che liturgia ed ecclesiologia sono elementi non dispensabili per *pensare* la teologia eucaristica, mostrando il primato dell'ontologico rispetto a quello etico (cf. pp. 107-111). La domanda che ci poniamo, invece, è: poiché il percorso proposto non pare esplicitamente porsi soltanto in prospettiva cattolica (si parla di "teologia eucaristica" arricchitasi con il dialogo, non soltanto di "teologia eucaristica cattolica", cf. p. 115), non sarebbe stato interessante indicare quali frutti del dialogo ecumenico siano sorti anche in campo ortodosso, giacché i frutti indicati alle pagine 116-121 sembrano essere esclusivamente fioriti in campo cattolico?

M. Pampaloni, S.I.

*Бизнес и общество: Материалы V Международной научно-практической конференции, 20–22 января 2009 года, Санкт-Петербург 2009, 213 с.*

A review of the acts of an international gathering of economists discussing the social aspects of business may, at first glance, seem an unusual exercise for a theological journal. Indeed, of the four sections that make up the papers of this conference on the social-economic problems of business in today's world that was held in Saint Petersburg, Russia, over 20–22 January 2009, only one — a noteworthy fact in and of itself — was specifically devoted to the ethical and theological moments intrinsic to business. The eight contributions in this section are the direct focus of this review.

The third section of the conference under the heading “The Ethical and Religious Foundations of Management (*khoziaistvovanie*)” most interestingly opens with a lengthy contribution by the American Catholic theologian Helen Alford, who happens to be the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Angelicum University in Rome. Her detailed study is entitled “Globalizing Human Development: The Key Role of the Common Good,” which was originally published in English in 2002, but translated for conference attendees by Sergei Lukin, who occupies the Chair for Business Management at the Belarusian State Economics University, Minsk. That such a Catholic contribution faithful to the Catholic understanding of the “common good” was given prominence at a secular/Orthodox-inspired conference is nothing less than amazing, especially in view of the fact that in the West business conferences are generally wanting in consideration of the theological dimensions of business management.

Specifically Orthodox contributions are presented by Sergei Lukin (“A Contemporary Orthodox View of the Social Responsibility of Business”) and by T. È. Maslovskaja (“The Orthodox Ethical Foundations of Management”). In the former, the author draws attention to two relatively recent normative declarations of the Russian Orthodox Church of the post-Communist era, namely, “The Foundations of the Social Conception of the Russian Orthodox Church” and “A Code (*Svod*) of the Moral Principles and Rules in Management.” Most notably, he notes how the hierarchs of the Church go to great lengths to reject the Marxist notion of the irreconcilable contradictions between labor and capital and to stress the common goals of both business and workers. In addition, among other matters, he stresses how the hierarchs underscore the social responsibilities of both business leaders and workers in working toward the common good, as for example, in the area of marketing and advertising that should serve to promote morality and not undermine it (a needed word, it might be added, for the Western ear).

Although Maslovskaja in her brief piece is to be commended for stressing the primacy of spiritual principles for a correct application of scientific-technical principles, she is too sketchy, and thus unconvincing, in her schema characterizing medieval social views as Monophysite and post-Reformation social teaching as Nestorian, whereas, she holds, the Orthodox approach to the same is uniquely Chalcedonian.

The contributions of the other authors, K. I. Golubev, G. I. Olekhovich, S. V. Podchasha, M. A. Rumiantsev, and O. N. Shalik, indicate a good grasp of their respective matters. In sum, the acts of this conference sponsored by the business and economic faculties of the Belarusian State Economics University and the Saint Petersburg State University are a welcome breath of fresh air.

R. Slesinski

HANN, Christopher and Paul Robert MAGOCSI, Eds., *Galicia: a multicultural land*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2005, pp. IX + 259, Map, CAD 40.00 (paperback), 72.00 (cloth).

This is a volume of eleven chapters, by as many authors, on what was Galicia in Habsburg times and is today a territory divided between Ukraine and Poland. The first three chapters, respectively by P.R. Magocsi, J.-P. Himka, and J. Motyllewicz, are introductory, drawing a good general historic, confessional, and ethnic picture over the centuries; the rest of the chapters look at various aspects of life in Galicia, with an emphasis on Habsburg times, but referring also to earlier ages and often to the twentieth century. The thrust of the articles is delineated in the Preface: "We are particularly interested in examining the ways in which different [ethnic] communities lived together, or at least alongside each other — peacefully". This may give an impression of idyllic coexistence and toleration of differences, but the various articles correct that view. S. Stępień writes on the Ruthenian national awakening as it developed in Przemyśl, H.H. Jepsen on Orthodoxy in the twentieth century, V. Potul'nyts'kyi on the image of Galicia in Ukrainian political thought, K. Struve on "Peasants and Patriotic Celebrations in Habsburg Galicia". Polish-Ukrainian national tensions between the two world wars are illustrated by through the case of the Lechki sister in Lviv by A.V. Wendland. The last three articles, by L. Bialasiewicz, Ya. Hrytsak, and Ch. Hann, all deal with the significance for today and tomorrow of how the Habsburg past of Galicia is viewed. All the contributions are scholarly and well-written, and the volume is an excellent contribution both to the past of Galicia and to its meaning in independent Ukraine today.

S. Senyk

LIEGGI, Jean Paul, *La cetra di Cristo. Le motivazioni teologiche della poesia di Gregorio di Nazianzo*. Presentazione di G.I. Gargano, Herder, Roma 2009, pp. XII + 308, € 42,00.

Gregorio di Nazianzo, oltre che per i suoi famosi discorsi teologici, si segnala tra i Padri della Chiesa per la sua produzione poetica: circa 18 mila versi, che si sogliono suddividere in: *Carmina theologica* (*Poemata dogmatica*, *Poemata moralia*), *Carmina historica* (*Poemata de seipso*, *Poemata quae spectant ad alios*), *Epitaphia*, *Epigrammata* (cf. PG 35-38). Solo una piccola parte di questi versi ha

avuto un'edizione critica (indicazioni a p. 263). Per alcuni di questi poemi sussiste un problema di autenticità, come ad esempio per il *Christus patiens*. A. Tuilier, che lo ha edito in *Sources Chrétiennes* (149) nel 1969, esclude l'attribuzione a Gregorio, mentre la difende F. Trisoglio (trad. it., *La passione di Cristo*, Roma 1979). Il Lieggi riporta queste opinioni (p. 10) senza però pronunciarsi. Dall'insieme del lavoro tuttavia si vede che il *Christus patiens* non viene preso in considerazione. Quanto alla classificazione abituale, il Lieggi ritiene che essa non sia adeguata, perché rischia di ritenere teologici solo i carmi di contenuto dottrinale, oppure di ritenere poetici solo quelli autobiografici (pp. 256-257).

Nel lavoro di Lieggi, il c. I° è dedicato all'esposizione dello *status quaestionis* sui giudizi dati dai vari studiosi circa la poetica di Gregorio. Le questioni poste sono molte: i poemi di Gregorio non sono forse solo una "prosa versificata", non molto diversa dalla sua "prosa poetica"? In effetti, "paradossalmente è stata più la sua prosa che i suoi versi ad influenzare la poesia bizantina successiva e a trovare spazio nella liturgia" (p. 66). Il problema posto da Gregorio stesso è squisitamente formale: perché scrivere in versi? Infatti il "metro" aggiunge al contenuto l'eleganza della forma (τὸ κοψὸν). Ora le domande che molti critici del Nazianzeno si sono posti non sono da sottovalutare: non è questa ricerca della forma qualcosa di superfluo, che rischia di lasciare in ombra il contenuto e di sollecitare la vanità del poeta? Perché mettersi sullo stesso piano dei poeti pagani? La risposta di Gregorio occupa un intero carme (II,1,39), che il Lieggi riporta per intero, con testo greco a fronte (pp. 87-90) e ampio commento (pp. 90-158). Anzitutto, osserva Gregorio, "molte parti della Scrittura sono scritte in metro" (v. 82), come ad esempio i Salmi, che erano anche cantati. Ciò significa che "il godimento (τὸ τερπνόν) può essere veicolo del bene" (vv. 86-87), e quindi ci può essere un "santo diletto" (σῆμνὴ ἡδονή), che attira i giovani e "li porta alla comunione con Dio" (vv. 90-91). Esplicitamente poi Gregorio fissa a quattro i vantaggi dello scrivere in versi: 1) costringere a darsi una misura; 2) rendere piacevole ai giovani i contenuti impegnativi (intento didattico); 3) sostenere il confronto con la letteratura pagana; 4) uso consolatorio per sé medesimo.

Questo sottoporsi di Gregorio alla "fatica dei versi" si radica anche in un contesto polemico, riconducibile al doloroso periodo costantinopolitano, che ha coinciso con il Concilio del 381, ma che è finito per Gregorio con una fuga da un ambiente saturo di parole e in un ritorno alla solitudine e al silenzio. Si tratta della "quaresima del silenzio" del 382. Gregorio può essere definito il "teologo del silenzio", riprendendo un tema già presente nella tradizione filosofica greca, da Pitagora (cf. p. 111, nota 83) a Platone (cf. p. 122).

Tuttavia, per comprendere a fondo il ricorso di Gregorio alla poesia teologica non basta ricostruire il contesto polemico e riprendere le quattro finalità additate dallo stesso Nazianzeno; occorre chiarire qual è il suo pensiero sulla possibilità della conoscenza di Dio e la capacità del linguaggio umano ad esprimerla. A questo tema il Lieggi dedica il c. 3 (pp. 159-209), dove fa un serrato confronto tra la posizione di Origene e quella di Gregorio. L'A. vede una sostanziale continuità tra i due pensatori, salvo il diverso contesto culturale in cui operano. Origene doveva affrontare le critiche di Celso, un filosofo del medio-platonismo, che

accentuava talmente la trascendenza divina da renderla assolutamente inaccessibile alla conoscenza e al linguaggio umano. Gregorio invece ha a che fare con Eunomio, che pretendeva di aver trovato un concetto adeguato a esprimere l'essenza divina. Se contro Celso, Origene deve affermare la capacità della mente, illuminata dal Logos, di accedere alla conoscenza di Dio, Gregorio invece, contro Eunomio, sottolinea l'incapacità della mente (non solo umana, ma anche angelica) a comprendere l'essenza divina. Sotto questo aspetto, Gregorio appare più vicino al medio-platonismo, ove si amava citare la celebre frase di Platone: "Scoprire l'autore e il padre di questo universo è un'impresa, e, una volta scoperto, è impossibile dirlo a tutti" (*Timeo* 28c). Gregorio la cita secondo una riformulazione più radicale, da lui attribuita a un "teologo greco": "Comprendere Dio è difficile, ma parlare di lui è addirittura impossibile". In realtà si tratta di un testo ermetico riportato da Stobeo (pp. 200-201).

Secondo la tradizione cristiana, presente già in Giustino e Clemente Alessandrino, benché in Dio essenza ed esistenza coincidano, tuttavia per la nostra conoscenza questa distinzione è di fondamentale importanza: di Dio infatti possiamo conoscere che esiste (ὅτι ἔστιν) e quello che di lui si manifesta attraverso le sue operazioni (ἐνεργεῖαι), ma mai potremo "comprendere" la sua essenza (οὐσία, φύσις), se non in modo negativo (apofatico). In questa problematica, sarebbe illuminante esplicitare la dottrina della conoscenza presente nel pensiero di Gregorio: la distinzione tra "comprendere" e "conoscere" si pone in questa linea (pp. 202-204), ma andrebbe maggiormente approfondita. Se il vertice della conoscenza si ha nell'unione con Dio (p. 205), resta da chiarire di che tipo di unione si tratti. Rimane poi il problema della "visione beatifica", circa il quale più tardi san Tommaso si scontrerà con i teologi bizantini, ormai saldamente attaccati alla distinzione tra "essenza" ed "energie" divine, essendo solo queste ultime accessibili all'uomo, anche nella condizione beatifica. Abbiamo visto che il Lieggi pone in stretta continuità Gregorio con Origene, ma sorprende la quasi totale assenza di un confronto con Basilio, come se tra lui e Gregorio non ci fosse stato nessun influsso a livello teologico.

Nella terza parte (c. 4) Lieggi esemplifica con alcuni saggi come "la poesia sia per Gregorio il linguaggio teologico per eccellenza", "il linguaggio dell'Ineffabile" (p. 211). Vi troviamo testo greco, traduzione e commento dei carmi I,1,1 (*Il Padre*); I,1,28 (*La tempesta sedata da Cristo*); I,1,35 (*Preghiera prima della lettura delle Scritture*); II,1,5 (*Al popolo dell'Anastasia*); II,1,34A (*Sul silenzio quaresimale*); II,1,38 (*Inno a Cristo dopo il silenzio, a Pasqua*); I,1,29 (*Inno a Dio*).

Nella conclusione, il Lieggi riassume l'opera poetica di Gregorio in alcune espressioni molto efficaci: "La poesia è per lui [Gregorio] il linguaggio teologico per eccellenza, il modo più adeguato per esprimere l'Ineffabile" (p. 259). Se dunque è vero che la forma più alta della "teologia" è la "dossologia", cioè la poesia che diventa preghiera, tuttavia rimane pur sempre vero che il *logos* è la forma propria del discorso teologico. Quello che Gregorio insegna ancora oggi, sia con i suoi poemi, sia con i suoi discorsi, è che il fare teologia non può essere scisso dalla purificazione del cuore e dal riconoscimento del mistero ineffabile di Dio Trinità, e dei misteri dell'economia (Incarnazione, Redenzione, vocazione del-

l'uomo alla divinizzazione), il tutto esercitato in quel contesto che oggi chiameremmo "la vocazione ecclesiale del teologo".

A p. 263 sono indicati due importanti repertori bibliografici su Gregorio, che vanno dal 1925 al 1993, a cura di F. Trisoglio. Non risulta che sia stata utilizzata la *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* di M. Geerard (*Corpus Christianorum*, Brepols 1974, con *Supplementum* del 1998). Nella bibliografia aggiungere: D. Sykes, *St Gregory of Nazianzus, poemata arcana*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1997; H. Alfeyev, *Le Chantre de la lumière*, Cerf, Paris 2006; Ph. Molac, *Douleur et transfiguration. Une lecture du cheminement spirituel de saint Grégoire de Nazianze*, Cerf, Paris 2006; Id., «Le premier poème "dogmatique" de Grégoire de Nazianze. Traduction et commentaire», in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 107 (2006) 345-366; Id., «"A-t-il commis une faute en étant pour toi miséricordieux? Pour moi c'est admirable!". La christologie dans le deuxième poème dogmatique de Grégoire de Nazianze», in *ibid.*, 109 (2008) 307-338 (testo, traduzione e commento).

E. Cattaneo, S.I.

LUTZKA, Carolina, *Die Kleinen Horen des byzantinischen Stundengebetes und ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung* [Forum Orthodoxe Theologie, Bd. 7], Lit Verlag, Berlin 2007, pp. xi + 125, € 19,90.

Nel *cursus* quotidiano del rito bizantino-sabaita attualmente in vigore tra l'Orthros e i Vespri vi sono le quattro ore di Prima, Terza, Sesta e Nona, celebrate regolarmente nei monasteri e nelle chiese parrocchiali di tradizione russa, omesse invece nelle parrocchie greche. Nei giorni feriali dei tempi penitenziali alle quattro Ore "canoniche" si aggiungono altrettante Ore "intermedie", le une e le altre affidate alla recitazione, spesso affrettata e monotona, di un lettore. Sol tanto tre volte all'anno, il Venerdì Santo e nelle vigilie di Natale e della Teofania, le Ore acquistano una particolare solennità, mentre a Pasqua e nella settimana pasquale vengono a perdere la salmodia. In epoca anteriore alla diffusione universale del rito monastico, prima studita e poi sabaita, il rito ἐκκλησιαστικῆς della cattedrale di Costantinopoli prevedeva le sole Ore di Terza, Sesta e Nona alle quali dopo il X secolo si è aggiunta in forma stabile l'Ora Prima, mentre in quaresima vigeva un sistema, forse più antico, con una sola *Hora Media*, la τριτοῦκτη celebrata verso mezzogiorno.

La monografia di Carolina Lutzka, che appare in elegante veste tipografica, affronta lo studio delle Ore di Prima, Terza, Sesta e Nona premettendo al cuore della trattazione (pp. 29-118) l'usuale prologo, tipico di tesi e diplomi, sulla preghiera oraria nell'Antico e Nuovo Testamento e nei primi quattro secoli. Le tavole (pp. 6, 42, 49-50, 79, 89, 98, 108-109) aiutano nella lettura soprattutto chi, pur interessato al tema, non ha dimestichezza con la complessa casistica rubricale. Manca invece una conclusione generale.

La lettura del lavoro ha messo in evidenza una pronunciata debolezza di impostazione e di contenuti, a cominciare dal titolo. Nell'attuale rito bizantino, le Ore del giorno non sono mai "minori" o "piccole" (*Kleine Horen*), ma semplice-

mente "Le Ore" (Αἱ ὥραι). Naturalmente ciascuno è libero di usare convenzionalmente la terminologia che preferisce, e anche di mutuarla, come in questo caso, dal rito romano-tridentino, a patto però che non generi confusione. Infatti la tradizione monastico-eremitica di origine egiziana del *cursus* delle 24 Ore, poi trapiantata in Palestina e a Costantinopoli, e che l'autrice non ha preso in considerazione, ha conosciuto le Ore "piccole" (μικραὶ) contrapposte alle Ore di Prima, Terza, Sesta e Nona indicate questa volta come "grandi" (μεγάλοι). È quanto si apprende dalla monografia che il compianto Ioannis Phountoulis († 2007) ancora nel 1963 ha dedicato alla preghiera oraria "acemeta", un lavoro sconosciuto all'autrice.

La storia delle Ore del giorno in cattedrale e nei monasteri è stata oggetto di interesse — è quasi ormai un secolo — dallo studioso russo E. Diakovskij (Kiev 1913) che qualche anno prima aveva pubblicato un articolo sulle Ore della notte (Kiev 1909). Diakovskij ha utilizzato manoscritti di prima importanza conservati al Sinai e sul Monte Athos, delineando tipologie editoriali e liturgiche che conservano ancora oggi il loro valore. Va da sé che chiunque intenda intraprendere uno studio delle Ore del giorno nel rito bizantino non possa prescindere dal consultare queste ed altre opere del passato, oggi disponibili on-line in formato *djvu* (<http://www.mzh.mrezha.ru>). Detto senza troppi giri di parole, è proprio la vistosa carenza bibliografica dell'opera qui presa in esame che solleva non pochi dubbi sull'attendibilità dello sviluppo storico, che dal titolo (*geschichtliche Entwicklung*), sembra essere l'obiettivo primario del volume. Lascia perplessi la mancata utilizzazione delle opere di Diakovskij e sorprende la latitanza di fonti edite o riedite di recente come l'horologion Sinai gr. 864 (SC 486, Paris 2004) e il *typikòn* di Evergetis (Belfast 2000-2005), o di lavori fondamentali come quelli di H. Husmann (*Hymnus und Troparion. Studie zur Geschichte der musikalischen Gattungen von Horologion und Tropologion*, Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz 1971, 7-86), Nicolas Egender (*Introduction*, in *La Prière des Heures. Ὡρολόγιον* [La Prière des Églises de rite byzantin 1], Chevetogne 1975, 11-90), J. E. Klentos (*Byzantine Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Constantinople. An Analysis of the Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos of Evergetis [Codex Athens Ethnike Bibliothéke 788]*, Notre Dame, IN 1995, published by UMI Dissertation Service, Ann Arbor, MI, 1997); D. Krausmüller, "Private vs communal: Niketas Stethatos's hypotyposis for Stoudios, and patterns of worship in eleventh-century Byzantine monasteries", in *Work and worship at the Theotokos Evergetis 1050-1200* (BBTT 6.2), Belfast 1997, 309-328.

Anche sul piano più strettamente legato alle idee e alla teologia, presentare la Liturgia delle Ore ortodossa come "santificazione del giorno" (Es dient der Heiligung des Tages), significa perpetuare *sine die* un luogo comune che la ricerca scientifica più seria ha già screditato. Alcuni teologi ortodossi, come Pavel Evdokimov, hanno presentato la Liturgia, non solo delle Ore, come "santificazione del tempo", tuttavia se c'è una tradizione liturgica che non offre alcun appoggio a quella che è una pura teoria che circola da meno di un secolo, questa è proprio la tradizione ortodossa, come ha dimostrato Robert Taft nel suo *best seller* sulla Liturgia delle Ore in Oriente e in Occidente. Quindi, se la monografia di Carolina

Lutzka ignora buona parte delle più recenti acquisizioni nel *domaine* che affronta, neanche discute opinioni che non condivide, dal momento che il volume di Robert Taft non compare nella *Secundärliteratur*.

S. Parenti

KNECHTEN, Heinrich Michael, *Filaret von Moskau als geistlicher Schriftsteller* [Studien zur russischen Spiritualität V], Hartmut Spenner V., Waltrop 2008, pp. 214, € 18,00.

Id., *Kraft in der Schwachheit — Dimitrij von Rostov* [Studien zur russischen Spiritualität VI], Hartmut Spenner V., Waltrop 2009, pp. 220, € 19,00.

Nelle recensioni dei precedenti volumi degli *Studien* abbiamo già presentato la persona del loro autore, lo scopo e il metodo dei suoi scritti. Sono destinati alla lettura spirituale di un largo pubblico, come un arricchimento del nostro ambiente occidentale con pensieri presi dalla spiritualità orientale russa che altrimenti resterebbero praticamente inaccessibili. Come nei precedenti volumi, l'autore facilita il loro uso con titoli tematici, ad esempio "Imitazione di Cristo", "Amore del prossimo", "Amore dei nemici" ecc. Possono essere usati occasionalmente anche in un contesto letterario, perché sono riferite le fonti da cui sono presi.

Ma da parte della nostra rivista e del nostro istituto scientifico siamo lieti di poter constatare i contributi che queste pubblicazioni "popolari" offrono anche agli studiosi della corrispondente materia. I volumi V-VI riguardano l'ambiente ucraino dei secoli XVII-XVIII, cioè un periodo assai decisivo per l'evoluzione spirituale della Chiesa slava orientale, i cui documenti rimangono purtroppo difficilmente accessibili. Ogni studioso, quindi, approfitterà con soddisfazione del lungo elenco delle fonti e della bibliografia che riguardano queste due figure ecclesiastiche di tanta importanza e i piccoli testi spirituali tratti dalle loro opere fanno spontaneamente indovinare i gravi problemi vissuti nel loro ambiente.

Si sa che il monachesimo russo, dopo la grande fioritura medievale, dopo la discussione o la pura coesistenza di due tendenze opposte (quella dei seguaci di Giuseppe di Volokolamsk e di Nil Sorskij) viveva in una certa stagnazione. In modo analogo, anche la Chiesa gerarchica passò gravi crisi strutturali e lo scisma doloroso dei vecchio-credenti. Ed in questo stato, soprattutto in Ucraina, si dovette affrontare un nuovo contatto più stretto con l'Occidente da un punto di vista statale, culturale ed ecclesiale. Ciò non poteva avvenire senza conflitti, accompagnati da nuove iniziative proficue, ma spesso incoerenti. Se ne occupano molto gli storici, che spontaneamente mettono l'accento sulle questioni politiche. I loro studi non riescono ad evitare discussioni polemiche ed accuse reciproche. Ed ora, nei presenti libri, incontriamo due autori spirituali, monaci e vescovi, e dai piccoli brani dei loro scritti possiamo indovinare come queste situazioni esterne si riflettessero in queste anime venerate come sante.

L'unione di Brest, conclusa nel 1595/6, nel regno dello zar era combattuta. L'imperatore Nicola I scrive che si deve procedere con fermezza verso gli uniati,



per ricondurli di nuovo alla Chiesa ortodossa. Come si è comportato il metropolita Filarete, personaggio importante nella sua Chiesa? Knechten ha cura di riassumere il suo atteggiamento, espresso nel 1834, in un documento autentico conservato nella cancelleria dell'*oberprokuror*. Non ci sorprende che il capo della Chiesa ortodossa sia in favore di una tale iniziativa. Dobbiamo però riconoscere con simpatia il suo monito che non si proceda con forza, e non prima che la mentalità generale degli uniati sia a questo predisposta; che non si debbano criticare gli uniati per i loro usi particolari, per esempio il modo di portare l'eucarestia in un "ostensorio"; e nelle discussioni si cerchi di parlare di ciò che nelle due Chiese è comune. Siamo contenti di poter sentire queste voci che risuonano quasi ecumeniche in un tempo di violenti interventi statali.

Per l'altro santo vescovo ortodosso, Dimitrij di Rostov, lo stesso problema non si presentava in modo così decisivo e conflittuale, perciò egli lo ha potuto affrontare in tutta larghezza: la relazione fra la Chiesa orientale e la santità dell'Occidente e, in genere, il confronto fra due culture che si credevano opposte. L'Ucraina nel suo tempo era come una porta aperta tra due mondi che prima erano separati da un muro chiuso. Tutto ciò che prima si considerava estraneo ora suscitava la curiosità di conoscerlo e la voglia avida di impossessarsene. Se nell'Accademia di Kiev cominciò a dominare la filosofia di Hegel, perché nei seminari ortodossi non si sarebbe potuto introdurre lo studio del latino e in latino?

Dimitrij, uomo di cultura, subì fortemente l'influsso di questo spirito del suo tempo. Non credo che si trovi un altro vescovo ortodosso che abbondi così di citazioni prese da autori cattolici medievali e che sa apprezzare in tal modo la mistica della tradizione latina. Knechten ci offre un buon confronto fra Dimitrij e Bernardo di Clairvaux (pp. 119-131) e Bonaventura (pp. 132-136). La comparazione con i testi di Gregorio Magno (pp. 108-113) può essere considerata quasi una giustificazione della vita stessa di Dimitrij, il quale, dopo aver scelto la vita contemplativa, si dedica con tanto zelo all'apostolato.

Ma, nonostante tanti influssi occidentali, egli resta fedele a un elemento monastico orientale. Anche se prende da tanti autori i loro buoni pensieri, "come un'ape raccoglie il miele dai fiori diversissimi", non pensa di scrivere una specie di *Summa* o un trattato coerente sulla vita spirituale. La vera sintesi dei diversi insegnamenti la può fare soltanto una persona santa nella sua stessa vita. Questo era il motivo che spinse Dimitrij a dedicarsi con tanta fatica alla sua opera principale, *Vite dei santi proposte secondo l'ordine dei Minei* (per le edizioni cf. p. 176). Esistevano alcune collezioni simili in precedenza e si usavano anche nell'educazione dei giovani. Il loro stile leggendario suscitava dubbi religiosi nei ragazzi intelligenti, come ad esempio nel caso del primo filosofo ucraino, Skovoroda. L'edizione critica dei testi fatta da Dimitrij ebbe quindi un grande merito culturale ed ecclesiale.

Non c'è qui spazio per entrare in altri dettagli. Con queste scarse osservazioni abbiamo voluto suggerire a coloro che vengono in contatto con questi due volumi quel punto di vista dal quale conviene accostarli per comprendere meglio il loro valore.

MEYENDORFF, Paul, *The Anointing of the Sick* [The Orthodox Liturgy Series, Book One, series editor Paul Meyendorff], St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, NY 2009, pp. 186, \$18.00 (paperback).

St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in Crestwood, NY, and its St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, has put the Christian world — and not only Eastern Orthodoxy — in its debt by presenting the Orthodox Tradition in a way that shows it cognizant of and open to the modern world and its the real problems, thereby creating an Orthodoxy at once both fully Orthodox and fully American.

The author of this first volume in the new series of which he is also editor, as well as the contents of his book, are both emblematic of this cultural reality. Its opening sally betrays the very American directness of its style: "Healing is too important to be left solely to the medical profession. Yet that is what our modern society has done" (p. 9). But this book is not an indictment of modern medicine, but rather a reminder for Christians to remember that only Christ is "The Physician of our souls and bodies," as the Inclination Prayer of the Chrysostom Liturgy reminds us, the only one who can bring holistic healing of both soul and body. Christ not only did this in His earthly ministry (e.g., Mt 10:11-15, 11:5, 25:31-46; Mk 2:1-12, 6:7-12; Lk 5:17-26, 9:1-6; Jn 9:2-8, 20-22, 35). He continues to do it through the Church, His ongoing presence in this fallen world (Jas 5:3-16; Acts 9:42-43). But as this precious vademecum for Christian ministers to the sick and dying makes clear, Christ's healing ministry is not limited to the sacramental mystery of the Anointing of the Sick. It is not by accident that *salus* in Latin means both "health" and "salvation," for "Every sacramental rite contains an element of healing" (26). M. treats this seminal aspect of all Christian sacramental life masterfully: sacraments deal with *life*, than which nothing, surely, is more "healthy." For that life is Divine Life in the Risen Christ. So M. exposes step by step how all the Church's mysteries and ministries — baptism, chrismation (confirmation), eucharist, matrimony, ordination, penance, blessings and consecrations, the Divine Office — are healing and lifegiving.

After a brief history of the Rite of Anointing the Sick across the traditions in chapter 2, M. dedicates chapter 3 to the theology of healing ministry, exposing how "The experience of sickness ... has been almost entirely removed from its proper place in the life of the Church... Yet the anointing rite has much to tell us about the Christian understanding of illness..." (63). Illness, suffering, death are the consequence of sin, which is why Christ died and rose to bring forgiveness, healing, and renewed life in Him. This is why the prayers of the anointing rite say much more about sin and forgiveness than about a physical cure which, though prayed for, is less important than spiritual healing, where the forgiveness of sins is central. M. stresses that this view of healing is not individual but, like all ecclesial ministries, necessarily communitarian and holistic. It is holistic in that it addresses the whole person, body, soul, and mind, bringing the sick back to Christ's eternal victory over sin and death they first entered in baptism: "The goal of healing is the restoration of fallen, sickly, and mortal humanity into communion with Christ, and with the Church, which is already the manifesta-

tion of the kingdom on earth" (89). It is ecclesial or communitarian, since this Christian healing is not a private or family affair, no more than are baptism or penance. So anointing should not remain privatized but should involve the whole Church community.

The final chapter 4 addresses the practical issues of improving the ecclesial care and ministry to the sick. M's first pastoral suggestion is the common one today in both Western and Orthodox movements for liturgical renewal: we must restore and revivify the celebration in common, in community, of liturgical rites that have become privatized. As with the Catholic restoration of the adult catechumenate via the hugely successful post-Vatican II restored Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults (RCIA), the Church must engage parishioners, too, in the ministry to the sick, as did the Early Church, and must celebrate anointing in community more frequently than the now prevalent once-a-year Orthodox Holy Week public anointing rite.

Having shown convincingly that indeed, "Healing is far too important to be left to the medical profession alone" (12), the book concludes with an Appendix giving the text of Orthodox Rite of Anointing of the Sick in full and abbreviated forms, as well as suggestions for further reading.

My only regret is that I am not the author of this excellent little manual. It should be bought, read, prayed over, and meditated on not just by Orthodox, but by all Christians interested in renewing the traditional ministry of Christ's Church to the sick and dying.

R. F. Taft, S.I.

MOUKARZEL, Joseph, *Gabriel Ibn al-Qilā'i* († ca 1516). *Approche biographique et étude du corpus*, Préface de Gérard Troupeau [Bibliothèque de l'Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik n° 51], PUSEK, Kaslik 2007, 551 pages, s.i.p.

Tous ceux qui se sont intéressés à l'histoire médiévale ou moderne des maronites ont un jour rencontré Gabriel Ibn al-Qilā'i (ca 1450-1516). Maronite originaire de Lehfed, dans le district de Jbeil (Liban actuel), il devint franciscain, reçut sa formation en Italie avant de retourner en Orient. Il résida à Jérusalem et visita, à plusieurs reprises, le couvent franciscain de Beyrouth. Il fut ordonné évêque maronite de Chypre en 1507. Son apostolat consista largement en une occidentalisation de l'Eglise maronite, en mettant à la portée du clergé la culture religieuse latine qu'il avait acquise au cours de ses études à Venise et à Rome. Dans cette perspective, Ibn al-Qilā'i fut amené à traduire de nombreux textes d'auteurs occidentaux dans un arabe dialectal libanais, comprenant quelques particularités héritées du syriaque et écrit en caractères syriaques (garchouni). Ainsi, il laisse une œuvre foisonnante, qui fait de lui un des tout premiers écrivains maronites, si ce n'est le premier. En effet, alors que les versions apologétiques de l'histoire maronite sont désormais tout à fait écartées, l'histoire de l'Eglise maronite avant la fondation du collège Maronite de Rome (1584) apparaît comme une *terra incognita*, principalement en raison de la quasi absence de

sources internes à la communauté. Il suffirait de consulter les quelques pages de la somme de Georg Graf pour s'en convaincre (*Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, t. II, Rome, 1944), tout en ajoutant que l'attribution de ces textes à des auteurs maronites est aujourd'hui mise en doute.

Cette contextualisation suffit à souligner non seulement la nécessité d'une recherche aussi fondamentale et méticuleuse que celle publiée par J. Moukarzel, mais aussi l'originalité déconcertante du personnage et donc la fragilité d'une interprétation générale de son œuvre. En quoi ce maronite franciscain ayant vécu une vingtaine d'années en Italie est-il représentatif de sa communauté? Lui-même ne paraît plus reconnaître son Mont Liban, dont il chante pourtant l'élection divine, à son retour au pays, tellement les «hérétiques» l'ont «perverti». N'use-t-il pas sa plume avec une telle générosité parce qu'il est issu de ce catholicisme latin franciscain?

Le minutieux travail de J. Moukarzel fut, dans un premier temps, de déminer son champ d'étude: Gabriel Ibn al-Qilā'i fut célèbre dans l'historiographie maronite (latine et arabe) dès les XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. On lui attribua «faussetment» certaines œuvres: J. Moukarzel démêle patiemment ces problèmes d'authenticité. Ces historiens maronites modernes, dont le principal représentant fut le patriarche Istifān al-Duwayhī (1670-1704), puisèrent dans l'œuvre du savant franciscain une partie des sources nécessaires à la construction du mythe de la «perpétuelle orthodoxie» des maronites et de leur perpétuelle fidélité au siège pétrinien, faisant fi notamment de l'épisode monothélite. Là encore, J. Moukarzel met en évidence les contradictions dans les différents propos du franciscain sur l'histoire des maronites.

Si J. Moukarzel tente une esquisse biographique prudente du personnage (p. 35-66), l'essentiel de son travail, comme le titre l'indique réside dans l'étude du corpus de manuscrits, une soixantaine, dispersés dans quatorze bibliothèques du Proche-Orient (Liban, Syrie, Egypte) et d'Europe (Vatican, Italie, France, Allemagne, Grande-Bretagne). L'auteur dégage, comme authentiques, dix-neuf traités théologiques, neuf lettres et seize poèmes. Ensuite, il ajoute la description de huit poèmes «probablement» attribuables au franciscain et vingt-neuf œuvres «faussetment» attribuées, puis énumère huit œuvres attribuées par l'historiographie au franciscain mais aujourd'hui disparues. Loin d'un simple catalogue, cette thèse présente une analyse concise mais précise du contenu de chaque œuvre.

Rapidement, il apparaît que la formation religieuse romaine prévaut sur toute autre culture chrétienne orientale chez l'auteur étudié. Gabriel Ibn al-Qilā'i agit avant tout comme un missionnaire, présentant à ses compatriotes la philosophie, la logique, l'astrologie, la théologie telles qu'on lui a enseigné ces disciplines au sein de l'ordre franciscain. A travers une langue arabe difficile, J. Moukarzel s'efforce de retrouver la source que le maronite traduisit ou adapta pour un lectorat oriental. Ainsi, sur le plan théologique, Gabriel Ibn al-Qilā'i traduisit une grande partie du *Compendium theologicæ veritatis* du dominicain Hugues Ripelin de Strasbourg (mort en 1268), qui était l'un des manuels les plus répandus.

dus au Moyen-Âge. Il adapta également les œuvres du théologien franciscain Duns Scot.

De retour en Orient, le regard du franciscain sur son pays s'avère profondément métamorphosé: une partie de sa nation n'était plus «en parfaite conformité» avec l'Eglise de Rome, elle s'était laissée gagner par les idées «hérétiques» des jacobites qui s'infiltraient partout et par tous les moyens. La *lettre aux gens de Lehfed* (analysée p. 273-276) semble particulièrement émouvante à ce titre: Ibn al-Qilā'i découvrit que la «déviation» avait touché son village natal, ses camarades d'enfance et même des proches. Bouleversé et indigné, il attaqua son village, lança des diatribes contre les «égarés» et menaça les «entêtés» de lourdes excommunications.

En somme, cette thèse, soutenue en Sorbonne par Joseph Moukarzel, aujourd'hui professeur d'histoire médiévale à l'Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik et directeur de la bibliothèque, constitue un modèle d'étude minutieuse et fondamentale sur un corpus de textes difficiles, et une ressource essentielle pour l'étude des prémisses de l'occidentalisation des christianismes arabes. Le manie-ment de l'ouvrage est d'ailleurs facilité par un index des noms et des thèmes, qui aurait encore pu être complété avec d'autres entrées thématiques, par exemple pour les noms des sacrements. Renforcé d'une couverture rigide, le livre bénéficie d'une mise en page claire qui en rend d'autant plus agréable la lecture.

A. Girard

OHME, Heinz, Hg., *Concilium Quinisextum: Das Konzil Quinisextum* [Fontes Christiani 82], Brepols, Turnhout 2006, pp. 363, € 42,90 (hardback), € 37,29 (paperback).

The Council in Trullo, alias the Quinisext Council, has been gaining increasing attention in recent times in several related areas like canon law, theology, church history, ecumenism, etc. This council enacted 102 canons that concern ecclesiology, liturgy, sacred art, etc. But on the whole this council was neglected in the post-Tridentine West, although previously it had long been regarded as an ecumenical council both in the East and in the West. Recent advances in the study of the Christian sources are converging to the consensus that the Council in Trullo, celebrated in Constantinople in 692, was indeed an ecumenical council. Heinz Ohme, professor for "Konfessionskunde / Ostkirchenkunde at the Faculty of Theology of Humboldt University, Berlin, has contributed in no little measure towards this consensus with his scholarly publications.

In the present work he presents the original Greek text of the Trullan council and a German translation on facing pages, preceded by a lengthy and excellent introduction (pp. 9-157). An exhaustive bibliography follows (pp. 303-334), in which there are fifteen entries under his own name. Among these special mention may be made of his doctoral dissertation on the Trullan council (which he preferably calls the Quinisext council, following the Byzantine canonist Theodore Balsamon): *Das Concilium Quinisextum und seine Bischofsliste: Studien*

zum Konstantinopler Konzil von 692 (AKG 56), Berlin-New York 1990. The publication of this research work was followed by an article in the present periodical "Das Concilium Quinisextum: neue Einsichten zu einem umstrittenen Konzil," *OCP* 58 (1992) 367-400. The widespread cloud of prejudice that this council was anti-Roman was largely cleared by his study, "Die sogenannten 'antirömischen' Kanones des Concilium Quinisextum," which appeared in George Nedungatt and Michael Featherstone, eds., *The Council in Trullo Revisited* (Kanonika 6), Rome 1995, pp. 307-322. This volume, published on the occasion of the celebration of the thirteenth centenary of the Council in Trullo, contains besides six other essays on this council, a new English translation of its 102 canons together with their Greek original and an ancient Latin translation.

The German translation of the Greek canons in the present volume will help to make this much neglected council better known. Indeed, the author's attempt to reinstate this council in the conscience of the Christian West as an ecumenical council is of considerable importance, especially in the present state of Catholic-Orthodox ecumenical dialogue. I have argued this point in an article scheduled to appear in *Theological Studies* (2010), "The Council in Trullo Revisited: Ecumenism and the Canon of the Councils." In fact it augurs well for ecumenism that in three recent Catholic publications of the decrees of the ecumenical councils the Council in Trullo is included. These are:

(1) Périclès-Pierre Joannou, *Discipline générale antique*, tome I, 1: *Les canons des conciles œcuméniques*, Fonti, fascicolo IX, Pontificia Commissione per la Redazione del Codice di Diritto Canonico Orientale, [Roma], 1962, pp. 101-241;

(2) Carla Noce, trans., *I canoni dei concili della Chiesa antica*, ed. Angelo di Berardino [Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 95], Augustinianum, Rome 2006, pp. 91-182 (= Italian translation of the 102 canons from the Greek text published by Joannou);

(3) Giuseppe Alberigo, ed., *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, I, a cura dell'Istituto di Scienze Religiose, Bologna, (Corpus Christianorum), Brepols Publishers, Turnhout 2006, pp. 219-293.

I contributed the "introduction" to the "Concilium Trullanum" in the last mentioned publication (pp. 205-215). In it as well as in the other two publications this council is regularly called Council in Trullo. On the other hand Heinz Ohme calls it "Concilium Quinisextum" following the twelfth century Byzantine canonist Theodore Balsamon (ca 1135- ca 1195), who attached this council to the fifth and sixth ecumenical councils and called it Πενθέκτη (*Penthekte*, in Latin, *Quinisextum*), literally, "fifth-sixth" council (PG 137: 508D; Rhalles-Potles, *Synagoga* II, 300). With this neologism Balsamon wanted to draw attention to the fact that the Trullan Council was the canonical completion of both the Fifth and the Sixth Ecumenical Councils, neither of which had enacted any canons but had busied themselves exclusively with matters of faith and heresy. However, the seventh ecumenical council Nicea II (787) attached the Trullan Council to the sixth council (680-681), not also to the fifth council (553). And this conciliar lead was followed by the classical canonists both in the East and in the West. For example, Gratian wrote: "Sexta synodus bis congregata est: primo, sub Constantino, et nullos

canones constituit; secundo, sub Justiniano filio eius, ... et canones numero cii ad correctionem Ecclesiae promulgavit" (Dist. XVI, c. 6). Clearly for Gratian the Trullan Council was the second session of the sixth council, as established authoritatively by Nicea II. Balsamon's *Penthekte* was a misguided neologism, which had no authority nor historical support in attaching the Trullan Council also to the Fifth Council. Perhaps this insight underlies the preference for the designation "Trullanum" by Rhalles-Potles, the nineteenth century Greek Orthodox editors of the *Syntagma* as well as by today's leading Greek Orthodox canonists like Spyros N. Troianos and Constantin G. Pitsakis (see their articles in the book *The Council in Trullo Revisited* mentioned above, pp. 189-198 and 263-306).

In fact, none of the two names currently in use is fully satisfactory. The designation "Quinisext," as just stated attaches this council equally to the *fifth* and the *sixth* councils, deviating both from history and from Nicea II, which regarded it as attached to the sixth council only as the latter's second session. The fact that the Trullan Council completes *in contents* also the fifth council does not make it the second session of this council. Hence, *pace* Balsamon, the name "Quinisext" is not warranted either historically or canonically. It is a misnomer.

There is a further consideration in the present context of the ecumenical movement. The name "Quinisext" may seem to prejudge the ecumenicity of this council from the start, which may be felt to be premature. The importance of the name is not to be underestimated: the name is like an arrow that shows the direction and focuses or repulses attention.

The designation "Council in Trullo" would appear to be neutral for the present. However, this is not a fully satisfactory name either: it fits awkwardly into a list of the ecumenical councils. Alberigo overcame this difficulty to some extent by giving the titles of the councils in Latin: Concilium Nicaenum, Concilium Ephesinum, Concilium Trullanum, etc. Apart from the fact that this option is not available in all languages, at least in equal measure, this way of entitling the ecumenical councils can create the wrong impression that there were eight ecumenical councils in the first millennium of union between the East and the West instead of the universally recognized seven. At the same time, the very awkwardness surrounding the name of this council may serve to underscore the fact that it is an ecumenical council *sui generis*: Photius called it "a sister council." It may well be that "ecumenical" as a conciliar category needs to be understood analogously.

Ohme has made a most valuable contribution with his translation of the canons of this much neglected and misunderstood ecumenical council. In his extensive and masterly introduction he has distilled a summary of all that he had written on this council earlier. It contains a good account of the historical background of the council, its purpose, its canons, its tortuous history of reception by the popes. In it he also corrects with scholarly integrity certain incidental errors of his previous publications, for example regarding the participants in the Council in Trullo. They were, according to the latest research, 227 in all: 190 from the Patriarchate of Constantinople; 10 from Illyricum Orientale, which belonged to the Patriarchate of Rome (West); 1 from the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the Pa-

triarch in person; 24 from the Patriarchate of Antioch; and 2 from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (see p. 24 and n. 61). The book concludes with four very useful and exhaustive indexes: Bible, Persons, Things, and Greek terms.

G. Nedungatt, S.I.

Rosso, Stefano, *Un popolo di Sacerdoti. Introduzione alla liturgia*, Elledici, Torino-Leumann 2007, pp. 472, € 42,00.

Dopo una prima apparizione nel 1999, nella collana «Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose» dell'editrice LAS di Roma, il manuale di Stefano Rosso, professore di liturgia nella Sezione torinese dell'Università Pontificia Salesiana, ricompare in una edizione aggiornata e ampliata, nel 2007. Si tratta di opera voluminosa (quasi 500 pagine!) che ha lo scopo di introdurre il lettore, in forma diffusa e documentata, nell'universo della liturgia cristiana, cioè, per utilizzare le stesse parole con le quali l'autore la presenta, per "rispondere all'interrogativo: cos'è la liturgia?" (p. 5).

Il metodo scelto è storico-teologico, attraverso l'antropologia, la storia, la teologia, la Bibbia, la pastorale e la spiritualità. Così l'autore affronta questa "scienza di sintesi che si serve di molteplici apporti e deve mediare con varie discipline" (p. 6); e riconosce fin dall'inizio che c'è ancora oggi un dibattito appassionato su due possibili strade: quella che mette l'accento sulla dimensione antropologico-culturale e quella che lo pone su quella biblico-teologica. Cercando di tener presenti, in buona misura, ambedue le possibilità, si domanda se si deve partire da Dio o dall'uomo, dal dato rivelato o da quello antropologico. Riconosce, infatti, che la liturgia è dono di Dio, ma lo è per l'uomo concreto di oggi, con cultura propria e ricettività particolare. Così ammette che, posare "lo sguardo sull'una o sull'altra sponda è libera questione di sensibilità, di scelta di percorsi, che devono però riannodarsi nell'essenziale" (p. 27).

Ma è veramente così semplice? Il primo sguardo è sempre neutrale riguardo all'insieme del lavoro e alle sue conclusioni, senza pericolo di condizionare in qualche modo lo sviluppo dell'indagine e, addirittura, i suoi risultati? È certo che la Costituzione *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, scegliendo di definire la liturgia, non lo fa a partire dagli uomini e dalla loro opera, come ancora si faceva largamente nei tempi precedenti, e anche dopo il Concilio (cf., per esempio, la definizione di liturgia dell'antico Codice di Diritto Canonico del 1917, can. 1256, ripreso, in certa maniera, nel nuovo Codice, can. 834), ma a partire da Dio e dalla sua meravigliosa *historia salutis* (cf. SC 5), mettendo in atto una vera e sapiente rivoluzione liturgica. Felicamente il nostro autore riconosce che: "il diverso passo iniziale influisce su tutto il cammino, con le sue accentuazioni" (p. 27).

Nella presentazione si richiama ancora l'attenzione su elementi importanti quando si affronta un discorso profondo sulla liturgia della Chiesa. Così riemergono le intense relazioni che sussistono tra liturgia e Bibbia, permettendo di notare come la Bibbia si trovi proprio alla base della liturgia; i nuovi rapporti fra liturgia e "diritto rinnovato"; il necessario contatto tra magistero e liturgia; i me-



riti e i limiti della liturgia intesa nella prospettiva storica; i rilevanti legami fra liturgia e antropologia, liturgia e cultura, liturgia e teologia; la vocazione della liturgia alla multidisciplinarietà; la liturgia di fronte ai possibili errori.

L'insieme dell'opera appare articolato. La trattazione si divide in sei capitoli, distribuiti tra la presentazione e l'epilogo. Una breve ma utile introduzione, all'inizio di ogni capitolo, offre al lettore un'idea generale di quanto si tratta, mentre una conclusione, cerca di riassumere l'argomento.

Il primo capitolo, di carattere nettamente antropologico, che funge da fondamento all'intero edificio liturgico, studia la struttura linguistica e simbolico-rituale dell'uomo, essere relazionale, "chiamato a entrare in comunione con Dio e con i fratelli attraverso un linguaggio costituito da simboli e riti" (p. 78). Così, prima di affrontare un discorso propriamente liturgico, si analizzano le disposizioni e le possibilità di accoglienza dell'uomo, chiamato al dialogo con il Signore e con il prossimo all'interno dell'assemblea culturale.

Il capitolo secondo si occupa della teologia biblica del culto. Infatti, comincia definendo sinteticamente "il culto", "il sacerdozio" e "il sacrificio". In seguito, studia l'etimologia del termine "liturgia" e prosegue analizzando lo sviluppo di questa parola nella greco, nelle Scritture ebraiche, nelle Scritture cristiane e, infine, nella storia della Chiesa. Quindi esamina la nozione di culto nell'Antico e nel Nuovo Testamento.

Le vicende che interessano la storia della liturgia sono ricordate nel terzo capitolo che, per "una lettura teologica e una interpretazione sintetica di dati, documenti e fatti...", occupa circa 130 pagine. Sulla scia della trattazione di S. Marsili, svolge quell'idea di liturgia che scaturisce dai riti celebrativi nelle diverse epoche della storia cristiana. La grande novità, però, è che il rito della chiesa di Roma è considerato, sia nel primo, sia nel secondo millennio, non sopra, ma "alla pari tra gli altri riti cristiani", cosa giusta e lodevole degli ultimi tempi. Il quarto capitolo, opportuno e attuale, si sofferma proprio sulla considerazione della rinnovata teologia liturgica che proviene dal Concilio Vaticano II.

Il capitolo seguente, "la celebrazione del mistero di Cristo", tratta dell'*assemblea*, della *parola-sacramento* e della *celebrazione* che, come spiega l'autore a p. 381, corrisponde rispettivamente al *soggetto*, all'*oggetto* e all'*agire* nel culto. Il sesto e ultimo capitolo è redatto appositamente per questa seconda edizione del libro. L'argomento studiato è la spiritualità liturgica, definita conformazione progressiva del cristiano a Cristo, realizzata sotto l'azione dello Spirito Santo, incentrata sul mistero della Pasqua e nutrita della partecipazione cosciente e piena alla vita sacramentale della Chiesa, in modo speciale nell'Eucaristia. Dopo una rapida storia della spiritualità cristiana, si evocano le linee della spiritualità liturgica, a livello antropologico-religioso, immersa nella rivelazione biblica e vissuta all'interno della Chiesa.

Nell'epilogo, che conclude il lavoro, sono nominati i punti in cui si incrociano i diversi elementi dell'ampio panorama liturgico. E si ricordano gli argomenti non studiati nel presente manuale, che continuano a meritare un degno approfondimento.

In un contesto attuale dove “ciò che si scrive invecchia presto ... rischia di non lasciare traccia” (p. 469), quest'opera supera in completezza e qualità altri testi recenti che si propongono lo stesso scopo. Il nostro giudizio non può essere che largamente positivo, anche se qua e là si possono notare alcuni piccoli difetti. La presentazione grafica della bibliografia, ad esempio, soprattutto quella generale, ma anche la settoriale che apre ogni capitolo e le varie sezioni, non aiuta il lettore a trovare velocemente le singole opere, anzi, complica e confonde. A questa difficoltà si unisce la mancanza di un ordine alfabetico per cognome di autore all'interno dell'elenco bibliografico. Si è preferito per anno di pubblicazione: e ciò rende difficile l'uso funzionale dell'indice.

J. R. de Melo, S.I.

SALACHAS, Dimitrios, *La vita consacrata nel Codice dei Canoni delle Chiese Orientali (CCEO)*, EDB, Bologna 2006, pp. 324, € 29,00.

This book, one of five written by the author on various canonical themes in an Italian series (*Diaconia del diritto*), will interest not only students but also enthusiasts of the canon law governing the consecrated life. After two opening chapters (20 pages) on monastic life in the ancient canonical sources and the reception of the sacred canons in CCEO, the remaining six chapters of commentary follow the outline of CCEO canons 410-572. Then, there are informative appendices, the first of which indicates the canons which allow for particular law together with the author's suggestions for formulating it, as well as a selective bibliography and general index.

From the outset, just as the Eastern Commission (PCCICOR) had originally done, the author distinguishes monks in monasteries from religious in orders and congregations and he implies that life in monasteries, given a certain priority, is monastic life as opposed to religious life (cf. p. 53). However, this priority was increasingly tempered within PCCICOR so that a monastery would subsequently be defined as a “religious” house (cf. CCEO c. 433), and expressions such as “members of monasteries, orders and congregations” and “monasteries, orders and congregations” were eventually replaced with “religious” and “religious institutes” respectively. In fact, the title to chapter 1 is “Monks and Other Religious”. The text also seems to lack precision and/or accuracy on other questions: admission (p. 113), dismissal (p. 181), the novice master (pp. 224-225), temporary profession (p. 228, ft. 56) and transfer (p. 247).

The author's commentary, which often simply restates the canons (cf. pp. 72-72, 121-122, 160-161, 185-187, 241-243, etc.), could have further elaborated on the 1996 papal exhortation *Vita consecrata* (especially regarding the vows, p. 45) and the importance of the rights of religious in CCEO canon 40 §2 (cf. pp. 65-67). At other times, one would have hoped for more explanation of the author's own position. Does he feel that Eastern scholars still debate whether or not the superior is a member of the council (pp. 81-82)? It is well settled that the Eastern superior is a member of the council (see, for example, CCEO c. 500). Are

Eastern superiors, as the author argues, to come to the financial aid of their ex-claustrated religious even though *CCEO* canon 491 explicitly states that they are to depend on the eparchial bishop in place of their superiors (p. 171)? Why does the author maintain that a dismissed religious' recourse, to be dealt with judicially (*CCEO* c. 501 §4), would be handled by the Signatura applying the canons on penal trials (p. 188)? Why does he state that it would be preferable for a superior general, rather than a provincial, to grant the dimissorial letters under *CCEO* canon 537 §1 (p. 240)?

Apart from the questions raised here, the author has made the Eastern Code and, more particularly in this volume, the canons governing the consecrated life more accessible to a wider audience. By effectively promoting a greater knowledge of the *CCEO* canons, which are part of the one body of canon law of the Catholic Church, the book's contribution is already noteworthy.

J. Abbass, OFM Conv.

СЕМЕНОВ, Н. С., *Философская и богословская антропология: Очерки*, «Зорны верасень», Минск 2008, 352 с.

This expansive overview of particular figures and problems in the field of philosophical and theological anthropology is a wonderful indication of the depth of speculative thought coming out of former Communist Eastern Europe. It is not at all ideological and clearly shows an independent and searching mind at work. The author, N. S. Semenov, holds the Chair of Culturology on the Faculty of Philosophical and Social Sciences at the Belarusian State University, Minsk, Belarus, and, as this work shows, is an accomplished essayist, indicating his preferred form of philosophizing with this book.

Divided into three sections, the first deals with such fundamental topics as the object of study of philosophical anthropology, the history of the question of man, the essence of man, and existential problems regarding man, ending on a study of the French philosopher Georges Bataj on the history of eroticism and the origins of man. The second section deals with the thought of individual philosophers as Kant, Feuerbach, Nietzsche, Scheler, Frank, Khoruzhii (and his synergetic anthropology), and Barth along with a consideration of Biblical ontology. The third section introduces us to some of the author's own philosophical reflections on such topics as solitude, personality, love, and cruelty.

With such an array of topics it is impossible to discuss every one so attention will be afforded to several select points the author makes in regard to *Russian* philosophical thought. Drawing attention to Russian religious philosophy, he opens his discussion with Semen Frank and how his philosophical anthropology is a blending of ontology and the epistemological problem of the knowledge of God, taking as its point of departure the duality of man as matter and spirit. Man in this way is neither "outside" of God nor fully "within" this world; he is a being between the world and God. Expressed otherwise, Frank holds, in the words of Semenov, that there is an indissoluble bond between the idea of God

and the idea of man as expressed in the notion of *Bogochelovechestvo* (Divine Humanity). This understanding is but an explicitation of the primordial intuition of man's being a participation in being beyond the limits of himself, the fact of which is nothing but an expression of the total unity (*vseedinstvo*) of being. These and other insights Semenov highlights in his treatment of Frank, whose thought is more than ever relevant to our own times in existential angst before the question of God.

Semenov's exposition of synergetic anthropology according to his contemporary Sergei Khoruzhii is particularly noteworthy, especially in regard to his critical commentary over the latter's strict division between "essentialist" and "energetic" discourse. Semenov makes a valid point in opining that Khoruzhii's undertaking, at least in his vocabulary, comes across as overly abstract and, thus, is not ultimately conducive to understanding human reality at its ontological depths.

R. Slesinski

SOLOVIEV, Vladimir, *I tre dialoghi e Il Racconto dell'Anticristo*, traduzione italiana di Giovanni Faccioli, Marietti, Genova – Milano 2007, pp. 280, € 12,00.

Si tratta della IV ristampa dell'opera (la prima edizione è stata nel 1975), il che testimonia l'apprezzamento comune dei lettori per lo scritto ormai famoso e anche parecchie volte discusso sia nei circoli degli specialisti che in ambito popolare. Vogliamo nondimeno aggiungere alcune note utili per stimolare alla lettura, forse anche ripetuta, dello stesso scritto. È naturale che *Il racconto dell'Anticristo*, il quale in forma simbolica presenta i grandi problemi filosofici e teologici che non perdono mai la loro attualità, susciti commenti e interpretazioni. Non vogliamo fare qui il riassunto di tali commenti e interpretazioni, piuttosto avvertire di una omissione che vi abbiamo notato. Praticamente, tutti coloro che ne discutono concentrano la loro attenzione sul *Racconto* stesso, mentre *I tre dialoghi* che servono per introdurlo sembrano essere quasi dimenticati, quasi che fossero una sorta di introduzione inutilmente prolungata e perciò superficialmente sfogliata in anticipo. Oserei, per essere spiritoso, rovesciare l'attenzione al testo, dicendo che il *Racconto* può servire come una buona introduzione ad una lettura soddisfacente dei *Dialoghi*. Ma, evidentemente, mi devo spiegare meglio.

Qual è il tema principale del *Racconto*? Senza dubbio ci sorprende e ci piace la sua forma originale di immagine. Ma il suo senso principale si concentra sul pensiero fondamentale trattato con insistenza dai recenti pensatori russi: l'impossibilità di risolvere i numerosi problemi umani con la sola capacità umana. L'Anticristo, messo qui in scena, risplende per la sua bellezza, intelligenza, esperienza pratica, eppure è destinato a fallire. La verità cristiana è essenzialmente antinomica, come antinomiche sono la natura umana e divina. Cristo solo è riuscito ad unirle in una persona divino-umana. E se l'Anticristo osa con le sole capacità umane risolvere anche il problema religioso, in quel momento prende

la forma di un violento impostore; violando la voce della coscienza, diventa il "demone" del male, come fu indicato già da Dostoevskij. L. Šestov, con le sue sottili analisi della cultura moderna, ci mette in guardia contro il grande pericolo di un ateismo strisciante che s'infiltra in tutte le riflessioni sui problemi umani. Che cosa ci dovremmo quindi aspettare di più dallo scritto di Solov'ëv? Lo scopriamo proprio leggendo i *Dialoghi*. Qui ci viene detto quali siano questi problemi umani che in concreto non riusciamo a risolvere.

Spetta a Platone il merito di aver popolarizzato la forma dei dialoghi per trattare le questioni più alte. Platone trovò imitatori anche presso i cristiani. Con che successo ha adoperato questo stile l'autore del nostro libro? Si loda Platone per il fatto che i discorsi che propone sono veri e propri colloqui, confronti fra diverse opinioni. L'imitazione fatta da Aristotele si presenta già nella forma decadente di un monologo, ogni tanto interrotto dalla modesta interrogazione di un discepolo. In onore di Solov'ëv, possiamo dire che le persone che egli mette in scena dialogano davvero. Inoltre, osiamo dire che dal punto di vista letterario superano il modello antico. I personaggi di Platone conducono il discorso in termini prevalentemente astratti, dal momento che prendono la parola solo i filosofi, chiusi nella loro cerchia ristretta. Invece Solov'ëv mette in scena dei tipi concreti, quali realmente incontriamo nella vita odierna; le domande che pongono e le risposte che danno sono davvero quelle che agitano la mente della gente di oggi. Quali problemi si discutono? L'uomo politico non dubita di doverlo presentare nel modo seguente: "Adesso è arrivata l'era della pace e dell'espansione della civiltà europea in ogni luogo. Tutti devono diventare europei. Il concetto di europeo deve coincidere con il concetto di uomo e il concetto di mondo civile europeo con quello di umanità" (p. 91). L'aggettivo "europeo" si addice al sostantivo Inglese, Italiano, Russo..., in che modo? I pensieri presentati nella discussione che segue sono assai interessanti.

Un "generale", da parte sua, propone i suoi dubbi sul giusto significato dei discorsi che sente a proposito del programma di pace internazionale e sulla rinuncia ad ogni violenza da parte dello stato verso i malfattori. Viene rimproverato dal difensore entusiasta della morale del vangelo puro, che in questo caso non è un ecclesiastico, ma un "principe". Si tratta evidentemente di un'allusione all'insegnamento di Tolstoj. Come tale, non ammette discussioni sul precetto della non violenza. Perciò la sua risposta consiste praticamente nel citare testualmente ciò che legge nei testi evangelici. Ma subito dopo egli stesso è messo in difficoltà dalla domanda che gli è rivolta direttamente: "Se il male esiste, significa che gli dèi o non possono o non vogliono impedirlo, ma in entrambi i casi non ci sono affatto dèi come forze onnipotenti e buone. Principio vecchio, ma esatto." Gli altri preferiscono evitare ogni pensiero relativo a questo problema. La dama del popolo si accontenta di un sospiro: "Ah, che dite mai?" E neanche il generale ha il coraggio di lasciarsi trarre in tali discussioni e si trasforma in un saggio popolare: "Mettiti a filosofare e ti girerà il cervello." E il principe? Prende una scusa qualsiasi e scappa. Lo ha già fatto in altre occasioni. Conosce bene i testi evangelici, ma alla fine si rende conto che, senza la presenza del Cristo vivente, il solo insegnamento evangelico non risolve i problemi umani

e neanche teologici. L'unione ecclesiale ed ecumenica fatta in tale vuoto sarebbe opera dell'Anticristo.

Che cosa aggiungiamo noi? Speriamo che queste poche note siano sufficienti a mostrare l'attualità del testo ristampato e la sua importanza duratura.

T. Špidlík, S.I.

TEULE, Herman, *Les Assyro-chaldéens*. Chrétiens d'Irak, d'Iran et de Turquie. Collection Fils d'Abraham, Brepols, Turnhout 2008, pp. 239, € 29,00.

C'est une contribution importante que le prof. Teule de l'Université de Nimègue et de Louvain, nous livre sur le passé et le présent de notre peuple. Il traite donc de l'histoire, mais aussi de la géographie humaine et religieuse des Chrétiens de l'Irak, de l'Iran et de la Turquie. Il connaît bien la situation actuelle de nos pays et de nos Églises: Chaldéenne, Assyrienne d'Orient et Ancienne Église d'Orient. Le livre intéresse en plus de l'historien, le théologien biblique, dogmatique et patristicien, le chercheur sur les courants spirituels et ascétiques, artistiques et littéraires de notre Église d'Orient, mais aussi le curieux qui cherche à son sujet des renseignements pratiques et actuels de par le monde entier, ainsi que sur la situation sociale et politique des ses ressortissants. Et ceci non seulement par les renseignements, mais aussi par les précieux textes, les statistiques, et l'abondante bibliographie qu'il fournit. Aussi le livre devient-il non seulement un moyen d'information sûre pour le passé et le présent, mais aussi un instrument de travail scientifique, au moins pour les premiers pas des chercheurs.

Importante est la contribution de l'auteur sur la situation des Assyro-chaldéens non seulement dans les trois pays mentionnés dans le titre, mais aussi dans le monde entier. Il en décrit la situation actuelle et fournit des statistiques, chose difficile dans notre époque de déplacement et de migrations. Ses informations sont basées sur des textes, mais aussi sur des témoignages personnels recueillis lors des déplacements.

Le livre est bien structuré. L'introduction générale et le chapitre historique supposent que la foi chrétienne est entrée au cours du II<sup>ème</sup> siècle (p. 7). Cette position nous semble minimaliste. En effet, le témoignage des Actes des Apôtres (2,8) parlant de Mèdes et des habitants de la Mésopotamie recevant la foi et la baptême à la Pentecôte n'est pas, comme on dit, une liste générale de la présence de 'tous le peuples' à la Pentecôte, l'Église étant formée de l'ensemble de l'Univers. L'affirmation est à prendre au sérieux au sujet de cette partie du monde, à cause de l'importante colonie juive vivant dans notre Pays; le Talmud Babilonien (VII<sup>ème</sup> siècle), beaucoup plus important que le Talmud de Jérusalem, est un témoignage irréfutable de cette présence. Pouvons-nous négliger la 'tradition' du passage de saint Thomas en Mésopotamie pour aller évangéliser l'Inde? D'autre part, le témoignage de 'Amr sur la présence d'une église à Bagdad détruite par le fleuve avant les années 70 est à considérer (Fiey, *Jalons pour l'histoire de l'Église en Iraq*, CSCO 310, subs. 36, Louvain 1970, p. 32). Je dis cela,

au moins, pour reposer la question de l'origine du Christianisme en Mésopotamie. Quant au reste, le chapitre sur l'histoire (p. 11-38) est un bon résumé sur l'Empire Perse, l'organisation de l'Église, les écoles, l'Église et le pouvoir politique etc., et l'époque arabo-musulmane, l'union avec Rome. Le chapitre sur la doctrine (p. 39-59) est aussi important. Ces points surtout sont considérés, comme il se doit: par rapport aux doctrines et les controverses, l'A. se concentre sur la christologie; pour l'Islam, il se concentre sur le Trinité et sur l'Incarnation. Un résumé sur les sacrements (p. 54-56), sur l'Écriture et la tradition conclut le chapitre. Suit une très belle anthologie de textes (p. 59-110). Elle est thématique et logique: profession de foi, auteurs spirituels, relations avec l'Islam, théologie biblique, textes canoniques, textes œcuméniques et enfin, textes en néo-araméen. Elle nous fait savourer la beauté de cette littérature. L'auteur donne aussi des textes arabes chrétiens. Nous aimerions lire quelque chose d'Ephrem qui était de Nisibe métropole syriaque orientale (cf. Fiey, *Même titre* CSCO 388, subs. 54, 1977). Dans le volume sur les Syriaques orthodoxes et catholiques il y a des textes de notre docteur. Mais il est aussi docteur de l'Église d'Orient!

Suivent des chapitres propres sur l'art sacré, la vie spirituelle, le profil sociologique de ce peuple, l'organisation actuelle des Églises concernées; un ensemble de notes conclut ces études.

Particulièrement importante est la Bibliographie thématique (p. 195-208) suivant les thèmes des chapitres du livre. Pour qui veut connaître ou étudier actuellement nos Églises et leur patrimoine, cette bibliographie est un instrument de travail pratique et utile. Il leur épargnera beaucoup de fatigue et de temps!

Le livre se conclut avec des annexes sur l'alphabet, la liste des patriarches, le calendrier, un plan d'église, un glossaire. À la fin, sont insérées des photos des trois patriarches actuels, celle de l'évêque savant et martyr Addai Scher († 1915), celles de quelques monuments historiques ou récents, comme notre église Saint Thomas-apôtre à Sarcelles (France). Un grand nombre d'informations actuelles (2008) met à jour l'histoire récente.

C'est un tour de force réussi! Le livre se recommande à tous ceux qui veulent connaître nos Églises et notre patrimoine passé et présent, qu'ils soient membres de nos Églises ou bien un chercheur qui s'y intéresse. À celui-ci, je dirais qu'il commence par le livre du Prof. Teule!

P. Yousif

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